NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA

NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Series number: A1838

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Title: South Africa - Political - Political parties - Nationalist party

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RECORDED.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

File No. 201/2/2/1-01 Pt 1

SUBJECT: South Africa – Political.

Political Parties. Nationalist Party.

LATER PAPERS.

ARCHIVAL ACTION.

SECRET.

Folio No.	Referred to.	Date.	Clearing Officer's Initial.	Date Cleared.	Folio No.	Referred to.	Date.	Clearing Officer's Initial.	Date Cleared.	Folio No.	Referred to.	Date.	Clearing Officer's Initial.	Date Cleared.
	Lewis	7/6												
	Butler	10/6	MA											
	P/A	11/6												
	Butler	15/6												
	P/A	22/6												
	P/A	13/7												
	L.L. Cotter	23/7	TC	26/7										
	Mr GRAGG	26/7		27/7										
	C/A	28/7												
	Cotter	15/8	TC	18/8										
	Mr GRAGG			15/8										
	C/A	19/8												
	PAB	30/9/82												

DATE COMMENCED
10.6.48
DATE FINISHED
9.3.82

LOST

File No. 201/2/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

NAS 272
Oct 1994

Australian Archives
DOCUMENT REMOVAL ADVICE

Folio/s numbered 192 & 204
has / have been removed from this item.

Series/Accession No.: A1838/354 Item No.: 201/2/2/1 PT 1

Document description: South Africa - Political - Pol Parties - Nationalist Party

Reason for removal: 33(1) a & b

A copy/expunged copy has been inserted in place of folio/s

Number of folios removed: 2

Removed documents now controlled as:

Removed by: [signature] Position No. 30976 Date 29/2/00

Pink - Item copy Yellow - Document copy Blue - Register copy

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE

STATEMENT OF REASONS UNDER SECTION 40 OF THE ARCHIVES ACT 1983

Series: A1838/354
Item: 201/2/2/1 Pt 1
Title: South Africa - Political - Political Parties - Nationalist Party

DECISION: The folios listed below are wholly/partially exempt under sub-section 33(1)(a) and (b) of the Archives Act 1983

192, 204

FACTS ON WHICH THESE DECISIONS ARE BASED:

The exempted folios contain one or more of the following:

- intelligence/information the release of which could cause damage to Australia's security and international relations.
- information provided in confidence by a foreign government, the disclosure of which would constitute a breach of that confidence.
- the identity of an overseas intelligence agency/agent. The country concerned has requested that the Australian Government not release this identity in this context.

RELEVANT SECTIONS OF THE ACT:

33(1)(a) '...a Commonwealth record is an exempt record if it contains information or matter... the disclosure of which under this Act could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the security, defence or international relations of the Commonwealth'.

33(1)(b) '...a Commonwealth record is an exempt record if it contains information or matter...communicated in confidence by...a foreign Government...to the Government of the Commonwealth...being information or matter the disclosure of which under this Act would constitute a breach of that confidence'.

REASONS FOR THESE DECISIONS:

International relations are dependent upon the adequate flow of information between one country and another. If disclosure would lessen the confidence of another country in the Government of Australia, that is sufficient ground for a finding that disclosure could reasonably be expected to damage international relations under s33(1)(a) of the Archives Act.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

The foreign government has asked that the information not be released to the public. The release of this information would therefore constitute a breach of confidence owed to that foreign government within the meaning of s33(1)(b) of the Archives Act.

The release of this information would be likely to result in restriction of intelligence provided to Australia. This would cause damage to the security of the Commonwealth within the meaning of s33(1)(a) of the Archives Act.

Australian Archives

Decision maker: [illegible]
Position number: 30926
Date: 24/2/00

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RE8.

Department of Foreign Affairs

File Number 201/2/2/1

Part Number 1

FILE CLOSED

This part opened on 10/6/48

This part closed on 9/3/82

Subsequent correspondence on Part/~~File~~ Number 2

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES

AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA

DO NOT OPEN

This acid-free mask contains 84 folios
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☑ Not in the open period as defined by the *Archives Act* 1983.

Date mask applied: 29 FEB 00

NAS 1061 (SEPT 1999)

Series no:

Item no:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A.
Nov 6 12 11 PM '69
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

202/2/1
202/15
In reply quote No. 206/17
Memorandum No. 304

24th October, 1969.

The Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

201/2/2/1.

SOUTH AFRICA - POLITICAL

You may be interested in the attached record of conversation between Dr D. Worrall, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of South Africa, and the Third Secretary. The topics dealt with are the National Party, the policy of separate development and the proposed tour of South Afrida in 1970 by the All Black Rugby Team.

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

R.L.C. Cotton,
Third Secretary.

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IF ATTACHMENT IF NOT REQUIRED

CHECKED

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

210

RECORD OF CONVERSATION WITH: Dr Dennis Worrall, Editor of "New Nation" magazine, correspondent for "Die Beeld" and senior lecturer in Political Science at the University of South Africa.
PLACE PRETORIA
DATE 22nd October, 1969.
OFFICER PRESENT R.L.C. Cotton.

NATIONAL PARTY

During the course of the conversation, Dr Worrall said that Dr Hertzog, and the other members who had recently been expelled from the National Party because of their opposition to the Government's Sports Policy, would form a new Political Party to contest the General Election in April next year. He said that a reporter of "Die Burger" expected the new party to win up to twelve seats at the elections. Dr Worrall thought they would be lucky to win more than about four or five. However he was glad that Dr Hertzog and his followers had been expelled from the National Party. They had been forced out in the open where they would do less harm to the National Party which would now have to seek a greater measure of support from among the English speaking voters in South Africa. The National Party would have to broaden its base and to extend the range of its support among those people who would not normally vote Nationalist. The important point was that the National Party would now have more latitude in framing its policies to gain a greater measure of support from English speaking voters. However, if Dr Hertzog and his group had stayed as a pressure group within the National Party they would have forced the National Party leaders into continually making concessions to their point of view. And, in such a position, the National Party would not have the same degree of flexibility in modifying its policies to appeal to the English speaking voter.

He did not think that the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, would modify National Party Policy in any significant way in an attempt to appeal to those Right Wing voters who may be attracted by the new party formed by Dr Hertzog. I said that Dr Hertzog's expulsion was the third time since the Act of Union in 1910, that a section of the Afrikaans speaking people had broken away from the main body to establish a purified party of conservative views, dedicated to preserving the Afrikaners position. The last time was in 1935 when Dr Malan the leader of the Purified National Party had broken away from General Hertzog, the then Prime Minister and leader of the South African Party. The National Party had grown in strength till it was elected to power in 1948. Was it not possible that history would repeat itself; that Dr Hertzog and a new party dedicated to preserving the Afrikaners position would once again attract increasing support from the Afrikaans voter?

Dr Worrall said he thought not. Many of the issues that had motivated the Afrikaner strongly, the establishment of a Republic and the implementation of separate development, had been achieved. Added to this was the "phenomonal" advance that had been made by the Afrikaner in industry, and commerce. Today the Afrikaner felt sure of his position and felt he could compete on equal terms with any English-speaking person. The inferiority complex had gone.

SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Dr Worrall said one should try to understand the wide degree of discussion/

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

209

discussion and opinion in Afrikaans circles on the policy of separate development. Dr Verwoerd had given the policy its "positive" orientation by accepting and declaring, that the Bantu people would in time have the power of self-government within their own areas. For the Afrikaans speaking people this was a big advance. It had taken all of Dr Verwoerd's powers of leadership and some time, to convince the Afrikaner that this policy i.e. giving self-government to the Bantu was the only realistic one. Dr Worrall mentioned that this "positive" aspect of separate development had now come to be widely accepted in Afrikaans circles. There was at present a considerable amount of discussion going on within these circles on the policy of Separate Development and how it should be implemented. There were the conservative people who questioned the policy on the grounds that it was doing "too much for the black man" and that the Bantu would not be capable of achieving self-government within the homelands. Then there were those with moderate views who thought the policy was the right one but that it would only be implemented on a gradual basis. Then there were the liberal thinking Afrikaners who saw "apartheid" as South Africa's only real solution to the Race problem and, because of this, it should be implemented as quickly as possible. These people approved of the policy because it did have as its main aim, the granting of self-government to the Bantu in their own areas. To them, separate development could only be justified because of this ideal. Dr Worrall's personal view was that in its present form, the policy was not the answer to South Africa's racial problems. However it was oriented in the "right" direction and it could be amended as time and circumstances demanded. In this context, Dr. Worrall appeared to be thinking of some form of partition.

SPORTS POLICY (All Black Rugby Tour)

Dr Worrall said that he was concerned that next year's tour by the New Zealand All Black (Rugby Team) might not take place. The Government's Sports Policy would be an election issue and he hoped that the New Zealand authorities would not be offended by this. He mentioned that he hoped to write something in his political column on this topic and he would possibly send a copy to a New Zealand paper, in the hope that they would publish it, to show New Zealanders that South Africans did want the tour to take place, Maoris included.

He was convinced that Mr Vorster would stand by the Government's Sports Policy and if Maoris were included in the All Black Team, South Africa would accept them as guests in this country.

Dr Worrall expressed the view that it would be a good thing for South Africa's race relations if Maoris members did come to South Africa He did not give any reasons for this view.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

=AAP205 29 OCT 69 1221
LEADER :
JOHANNESBURG, OCT 28, AAP-REUTER -- SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER JOHN VORSTER DISCLOSED TONIGHT THAT HE OFFERED TO STEP DOWN AS LEADER OF HIS RULING NATIONALIST PARTY LAST YEAR BECAUSE OF DISSENSION IN THE RANKS.

SPEAKING AT HIS TRANSVAAL CONSTITUENCY OF NIGEL, HE SAID HE HAD TOLD THE PARTY'S PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS EARLY LAST YEAR THAT HE WANTED TO GIVE ONE OF HIS RIGHT-WING OPPONENTS THE CHANCE OF BEING ELECTED LEADER.

BUT THE CAUCUS HAD UNANIMOUSLY RE-ELECTED HIM TO HEAD THE PARTY, HE SAID.

MR VORSTER REVEALED THE MOVE DURING AN ATTACK ON THE RIGHT-WING GROUP WHO FORMED THEIR OWN PARTY ON SATURDAY TO OPPOSE WHAT THEY REGARD AS HIS DILUTION OF APARTHEID POLICIES.
MORE GT

201/2/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

=AAP206 29 OCT 69 1224
LEADER 2 JOHANNESBURG:

GHE HIT OUT AT THE BREAKAWAY GROUP THE ''RECONSTITUTED NATIONAL PARTY'' -- SAYING:

''...I WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE IS NO SPLIT IN THE NATIONAL PARTY. ADMITTEDLY A SPLINTERING TOOK PLACE, BUT THEN IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND IT IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THIS HAS HAPPENED.''

MR VORSTER SAID: ''SINCE THE NATIONAL PARTY CAME INTO POWER NO FEWER THEN 13 SPLINTER PARTIES CAME INTO BEING AND DISAPPEARED AGAIN. THIS 14TH SPLINTER PARTY WILL BE NO EXCEPTION.''

THE PRIME MINISTER SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL REBUKE DR. ALBERT HERTZOG, A FORMER CABINET MINISTER AND LEADER OF THE NEW PARTY, AND MR JAAP MARAIS, DR. HERTZOG'S CHIEF LIEUTENANT.

''I HAVE NOTICED THAT MR. JAAP MARAIS SAID HE IS PREPARED TO TRUST DR. HERTZOG IN THE DARK. I DON'T BLAME MR. MARAIS BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY PLACE WHERE HE HAS EVER SEEN DR. HERTZOG,'' THE PRIME MINISTER SAID.

DR. HERTZOG, MR. MARAIS AND ANOTHER NATIONALIST MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT WERE RECENTLY EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY AFTER THEY OPPOSED MR. VORSTER'S POLICY ALLOWING SOME RACIAL MIXING IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT. A FOURTH NATIONALIST M.P. RESIGNED IN SYMPATHY.

AAP-REUTER GT

201/2/2/1

79

80

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

208

78

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

LMS 1

FROM

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY,
PRETORIA.

I.110973

TOD 31.10.69...1408 LT

TOR 31.10.69...2225 LT

201/2/2/1

314 CONFIDENTIAL

NEW POLITICAL PARTY.

MY 301.

IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS I HAVE FOUND CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR VIEW THAT NEW PARTY'S ELECTORAL IMPACT IS NOT REPEAT NOT LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERABLE.

MANY CONSERVATIVE PARTY MEMBERS WHO MIGHT SYMPATHISE WITH SOME OF HERTZOG'S VIEWS WOULD PROBABLY BE RELUCTANT TO TAKE THE DRASTIC STEP OF QUITTING NATIONAL PARTY.

NOBODY I HAVE SPOKEN TO CONSIDERS THAT ''RECONSTITUTED'' NATIONISTS HAVE PROSPECTS OF WINNING MORE THAN TWO OR THREE SEATS AT OUTSIDE.

IN A FEW OTHER MARGINAL SEATS THEY COULD, BY SPLITTING FORMER NATIONAL PARTY VOTE, PRODUCE UNITED PARTY VICTORIES.

2. NEVERTHELESS PRIME MINISTER AND HIS FOLLOWERS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY EXTENT OF SUPPORT SO FAR EXHIBITED FOR NEW PARTY.

IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THEY MAY FEEL OBLIGED, IN ORDER TO AVIOD FURTHER DEFECTIONS, TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR ORTHODOX CONSERVATISM.

THIS MAY RESULT IN A RATHER MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO ANY FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF VOTER'S ''OUTWARD-LOOKING'' POLICY.

CUTTS.

MIN. AND DEPT. E.A.
P.M.'S DEPT.
D.C.O.
P.M.'S

SEC DEP SEC FAS(1) FAS(3) FAS(4) EAMEC E AFME
ICR PIO

CONFIDENTIAL

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

205

(77)

201/2/2/1

SOUTH AFRICA

C.T. 27/10/59

BREAKAWAY PARTY

PRETORIA, South Africa, Sunday (AAP). — Afrikaner right wing extremists launched a new party yesterday to fight in next year's general election with the aim of enforcing apartheid in its strictest sense, the Associated Press reported.

The ultra-conservatives, known as the Hertzog group, are a breakaway from the ruling Nationalist Party, which they accuse of watering down apartheid and deviating from traditional party principles of race segregation.

The new party will be called the Herstigte Nationale Party van Suid Afrike (Reconstituted Party of South Africa).

AAP-Reuter reported that the new party was agreed upon at a congress in Pretoria called by Dr Albert Hertzog, an expelled Nationalist MP, and attended by 911 delegates from most parts of the country.

The new party said the bible and word of God as understood and expressed in the Calvinistic reformation would form its basis.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

204

FOLIO REMOVAL ADVICE

…1…… folio/s has been removed from this place in this file.

See the Statement of Reasons Under Section 40 of the Archives Act on top of this file for reasons why this folio/s was removed.

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

202

73.

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A.
SEP 25 9 10 AM '69
NON-INDEX SUBJECT

In reply quote No. 202/2/1

Memorandum No. 248

19th September, 1969.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

201/2/2/1

NATIONAL PARTY : DR. HERTZOG

With reference to our Savingram No. 50/69, paragraph 2, we attach newspaper cuttings giving the text of the two statements made by Dr. Hertzog regarding the Prime Minister's mixed sports policy.

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

(John Forsythe)
Counsellor

/mjm

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AND ATTACHMENT IF NOT REQUIRED

CAEOKA 30/9

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

THE STAR 12 SEP 1969

202

I'm right, he says

DR. ALBERT HERTZOG left Pretoria early today for his constituency at Ermelo, leaving behind a statement declaring his loyalty to Dr. Verwoerd's racial sports policy and implying his opposition to the policy endorsed by this week's Transvaal Nationalist congress.

The Star's Political Correspondent says this means that this veteran Nationalist politician has refused to identify himself with the decision taken at the congress and he has chosen a course that must lead to his expulsion from the party.

In his statement Dr. Hertzog said the resolution of the Transvaal Nationalist Party in connection with international sports teams and the debate on this

● See Nat congress reports on Page 7.

issue had prompted many inquiries which had to be answered on behalf of the party.

"The point of view I adopted at the congress represents the policy of the Nationalist Party as it was unanimously approved by the Cabinet in 1965 and clearly formulated by the late Dr. Verwoerd and announced by Mr. Jan de Klerk," Dr. Hertzog said.

Whole Cabinet

The announcement said: "The Government has decided to counteract the different forms of integration, including social integration. It must ensure that the country's policy (landsbeleid) is respected in the field of sport as in all other spheres.

"The Government has before and now again unanimously decided against the reception of mixed teams. The Prime Minister, therefore, reflected the view and resolutions of his whol[e] Cabinet and not purely his own viewpoint.

"Recently I again had a frank discussion on this problem with Dr. Craven and I unequivocally informed him that Maoris would not be acceptable as members of a touring team."

Dr. Hertzog said he had no doubt that this policy was good and right.

"Overseas teams comprising Whites and non-Whites who are allowed into South Africa will have a serious effect on the whole apartheid policy and social pattern of South Africa and will

● Cont. on Page 3. Column 4.

Hertzog ... to mixed sport

(Continued from Page 1)

injure the good relations between White and non-White and their relative countries.

"Rugby matches are associated with eating and dancing parties and social mixing where young men and women will associate with non-Whites. This social intercourse with non-Whites would soon be followed in other spheres of the community, and so we will be faced with the systematic and rapid dismantling of all apartheid, the salvation of the White man in South Africa."

"This policy, as formulated by Dr. Verwoerd and approved by his entire Cabinet, correctly reflects the approach of the Nationalist Party, and is still subscribed to wholeheartedly and without reservation by me."

More than 1,100 delegates representing Nationalists from all parts of the Transvaal gave overwhelming support on Tuesday to a resolution endorsing the Government's current sports policy—a policy based on the retention of "traditional" sporting ties and the acceptance of mixed teams under certain specific conditions.

At yesterday's closing session Mr. Schoeman, the Minister of Transport and Transvaal leader, said that branch and divisional committees would now have to confront the 11 delegates who voted against the resolution and the seven delegates who abstained from voting and ask them whether they accepted the congress decision.

In his Press statement today Dr. Hertzog stressed that his opposition to the congress resolution—both during the debate and in the voting—was based on the policy of the Nationalist Party, clearly formulated by Dr. Verwoerd and unanimously accepted

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

PRETORIA NEWS 15 SEP 1969

201

Keeping To The Verwoerd Line

DR. A. HERTZOG, in a statement to Sapa last night, said he deemed it necessary to refer to the following facts, in view of the Prime Ministers' accusation that while still a member of the Cabinet, he had never criticised Mr. [illegible] sports policy.

"The fundamental principle of the Nationalist Party's sports policy through the years was that South Africa would not receive mixed visiting teams to compete in the Republic against White teams, as it would lead to social integration between White and non-White and would also lead to the undermining of apartheid.

"In September, 1965, Dr. Verwoerd, after pressure to allow Maoris to be included in the 1967 New Zealand rugby team, repeated this standpoint. Several days later, Senator De Klerk, the then Minister of the Interior, in a statement on behalf of the Cabinet, again confirmed this policy. It was an unanimous Cabinet decision.

"The present Prime Minister was a member of that Cabinet and subscribed to this statement.

"The first caucus meeting at which the present Prime Minister's sports announcement of April, 1967, was discussed, was in fact an extension of the Cabinet discussion on the matter.

DIFFERENCES

"It is widely known that at this caucus meeting there were serious differences of opinion and that various Nationalist Members of Parliament interpreted the present policy as a deviation from Dr. Verwoerd's policy. It is also generally known among caucus members that a number of Members of Parliament were given the assurance that the policy had in no way altered, and that the differences of opinion were based on a misunderstanding.

"Further, the assurance was given to them that Basil D'Oliveira would not be allowed in an M.C.C. team and that Maoris in an All Black team would not be acceptable to South Africa.

"As a result of this assurance many members who otherwise would have taken part in the debate, did not state their opinions. I, too, accepted it as such.

"Thereafter it was several times confirmed that the announced policy was no deviation from Dr. Verwoerd's policy. The assurance that Maoris would not be allowed in an All Black team to South Africa, was confirmed on other occasions such as the information conference in Pretoria last year.

"In [illegible] view of the statements by the Prime Minister that his sports announcement was no deviation from Dr. Verwoerd's standpoint — in other [illegible] teams could compete against White South African teams in the Republic — it was not necessary for me to criticise his sports policy and I did not do so.

"However," the statement said, "recent statements by the party leadership on this matter have changed the picture.

"At a public meeting in the Innesdal Constituency on August 22 this year, Mr. Ben Schoeman clearly stated that a French rugby side with one or more non-White members would be welcome to come and play against South Africa and that the Government could not refuse such a team because South Africa received arms from France.

"At the recently concluded congress of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, Mr. Schoeman repeated the statement, in the presence of the Prime Minister.

"At the same congress, the Prime Minister was asked what the position would be if four or five full-blooded Maoris were included in the New Zealand rugby team to South Africa. The Prime Minister's reply was 'we do not ask people for their birth certificates'.

"Can one come to any other conclusion than the one that the sports policy of the present Prime Minister rejects the traditional principles of apartheid in sport, as also clearly set out by Dr. Verwoerd? And can any Nationalist be taken to task if he questions this, or raises objections against it?

"The policy of apartheid is the keystone of continued White civilisation in South Africa. It cannot be allowed that there be any uncertainty about this. It will undermine the survival of White civilisation," the statement said. — Sapa.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

REGISTRY
MAY 20 11PM '69
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT

200

201/2/2/1 (74)

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
CAPE TOWN

In reply quote No. 202/2/1

Memorandum No. C.155

22nd May, 1969.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

SOUTH AFRICA : NATIONAL PARTY

In our Savingrams 21/69, 23/69, 26/69, our telegrams 96 and 97, and our memorandum C.115, we have reported on the recent unrest in the National Party caused by Dr. Hertzog's speech to Parliament on 14th April, the repudiation of that speech by Mr. Vorster and Mr. Schoeman, and the public attack on Dr. Hertzog by Mr. P. W. Botha.

2. On 20th May the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced that there had been a reconciliation between the "verkrampte" (ultra-conservative) and "verligte" (liberal) wings of the National Party and that Dr. Hertzog and Mr. Louis Stofberg, a Member of Parliament sympathetic to Dr. Hertzog's views, would both remain in the National Party. A press cutting of the Prime Minister's Statement is attached.

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

3. The Prime Minister said Dr. Hertzog fully accepted his authority and that, in further meetings in his constituency, Dr. Hertzog will take the opportunity to dispel the "confusing and wrong impressions" that originated from his speech to Parliament. Dr. Hertzog said he rejected all those people who, in the Prime Minister's words, "posed as Nationalists and try to shield behind him (Dr. Hertzog) while they are, in fact, engaged in plans for the formation of a new party and are undermining the Party". (Presumably Mr. Barry Botha, editor of the right-wing magazine "Veg", is the main one referred to here.)

4. The 'Cape Times' interprets the agreement as a victory for Dr. Hertzog and his group, in that no expulsions from the Party have been made, when many people thought they were clearly justified. But Mr. Vorster is known to be most reluctant to exacerbate feelings in the party by ordering any expulsions, and his patience with Dr. Hertzog and Mr. Stofberg should be viewed in this light. Dr. Hertzog's future utterances will obviously be closely scrutinised by Party leaders, and the public statement of agreement issued on 20th May should restrict his scope.

R.L.C. Cotton

(R. L. C. Cotton)
Third Secretary

rlcc/mjm

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RAND DAILY MAIL = 21/5/64. 199

This is what Vorster said

CAPE TOWN.—The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster said last night Nationalists would be "pleased to know" that the differences which existed in the party recently have been solved "unanimously" at yesterday's caucus meeting of the party in Cape Town.

He said: "Mr. Louis Stofberg has accepted unconditionally and without qualification the decision of the National Party in the Cape after discussions with Minister P. W. Botha (the Cape leader) and myself."

The "decision" Mr. Vorster referred to was the Cape party's repudiation of the verkrampte publications "Veg" and the "South African Obser-er".

He added: "Mr. Stofberg, as well as Dr. Hertzog, also submit to the official standpoint of the Hoofleier and of the Transvaal leader, Mr. Schoeman, as put in the House of Assembly on April 22 as a result of Dr. Hertzog's speech on April 14, in so far as it could be susceptible to misunderstanding about the policy of the National Party. Dr. Hertzog has confirmed that it had not been his intention to create embarrassment about the matter.

DECISION

[illegible] firmed that, as always, he stood with all other members by the decision of the Transvaal members of the National Party of March 25."

This referred to a decision rejecting "Veg" and the "South African Observer" and "harmful reporting" in Nationalist newspapers. The decision also expressed confidence in Mr. Vorster's leadership.

Mr. Vorster said that Dr. Hertzog could at his further meetings in his constituency of Brits use the opportunity to dispel the "confusing and wrong impressions" which originated from his speech and actions.

These were:

- That the Prime Minister and Mr. Schoeman have been "malicious and unreasonable" in their reaction to his speech;
- That they and other members have only been moved to their action because certain daily or Sunday newspapers have taken exception against it;
- That only certain members of the party could be trusted to watch over the correct application of the party's principles and influences harmful to the volk.

"Dr. Hertzog also made it known frankly that he rejects the people who pose as Nationalists and try to shield behind him, while they are in fact engaged in plans for the formation of a new party and are undermining the National Party.

"All members of the caucus are deeply under the realisation that in future nothing should be done or tolerated which could harm the National Party and they are convinced that South Africa can be governed and fulfil its destiny only through the policy and principles of the National Party."

DEPARTMENT OF [illegible] 20 MAY 1964

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

198

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD SAVINGRAM

F-201/2/2/1

I. 49668

Dated: 16th May, 1969.

FROM:
Australian Embassy,
Cape Town.

EX. COMMS. BRANCH
21 4 01 PM '69

Saving No. 26/69 - UNCLASSIFIED

Repeated Accra, Dar es Salaam, Lagos, London, Nairobi

SITUATION REPORT : SOUTH AFRICA
(1st to 14th May, 1969)

NATIONAL PARTY

The dispute between the ultra-conservatives and liberals within the National Party still dominates the political scene. Since the repudiation of his speech in Parliament by Mr. Vorster and Mr. Schoeman (our Savingram 23/69), Dr. Hertzog has been touring his constituency seeking motions of support. On 9th May voters in his constituency of Ermelo adopted a motion of confidence in Dr. Hertzog and in the Prime Minister, after the former made a speech saying that enemies of the Party were looking for small differences and magnifying them in the hope of breaking the Party apart. However, on 12th May the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, at a Party meeting in the Cape Province warned a Nationalist member, Mr. Stofberg, not to be "led by an old, embittered and worn-out politician". Mr. Botha said the time had come to end subversive activity within the Party. The recalcitrants should either accept Party discipline or leave. He warned the "verkramptes" (conservatives) that "the broad stream of Nationalism will be too strong for their opponents".

2. Dr. Hertzog reacted immediately to Mr. Botha's statement and said he had read with amazement the "public attack on me by Mr. P. W. Botha, absolutely baseless, contrary to all the facts and against the decision of the Party that no member may attack another in public, but that all objections have to be submitted to the proper Party machinery." Dr. Hertzog maintained that he should be given a chance "to defend myself against such unprecedented, baseless and unbrotherly attacks".

3. Press reports consider that the public exchange between Dr. Hertzog and Mr. Botha may eventually force Mr. Vorster to expel Dr. Hertzog from the National Party.

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Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

1. 49668

INWARD SAVINGRAM

DEFENCE (our memoranda Nos. C.134 and C.137)

4. On 2nd May the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, revealed details of a ground-to-air missile system which had been developed in South Africa with French technical and financial assistance. The Minister also spoke of an air-to-air missile which had been developed in South Africa and had already been successfully tested and was nearing the production stage. Mr. Botha spoke of new arrangements for the production of aircraft in South Africa and gave details of new salary and allowance increases for members of the Defence Forces. On 5th May the Minister said that the Defence Forces were playing an important role in both the domestic and international spheres in the interest of the country. He spoke of some of the training systems and methods adopted by the Defence Forces to meet terrorist attacks, and said that the Defence Force had ways of continuously being informed about the latest methods used by terrorists throughout the world and they were continually devising countr-methods. The Minister also spoke about the arrangements for National Service and Civil Defence.

SECURITY

5. On 12th May, Security Police detained four Africans under the 180-day detention law and questioned an Indian in a dawn raid in Johannesburg and Soweto. One of those detained is Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of the prisoner on Robben Island, Nelson Mandela. Also detained were Miss Joyce Sikakane, a reporter; Mr. Paulus Matshaba, a postal clerk; and his uncle, Mr. David Motau, a truck-driver employed by South African Associated Newspapers. Police called at the homes at 2 a.m., searched them thoroughly and removed typewriters, correspondence, papers and books.

6. In East London, on the same day, Security Police detained Mr. Owen Vanja, a reporter for the East London "Daily Despatch". Vanja spent several months in Cardiff last year on a Thomas Foundation Scholarship for journalists.

FOREIGN RELATIONS (our cable No. 118)

7. On 7th May the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muller, said that South Africa was in direct and almost continual communication with the Governments of a number of black African states, other than the former three Protectorates and Malawi. Dr. Muller did not name those states, and he referred to the greater realism that was coming to Africa. He said that evidence of this realism could be found in even the manifesto of the recent summit conference in Lusaka. Dr. Muller praised the role that individual South Africans, such as Dr. Chris Barnard and Dr. Anton Rupert, were playing in fostering good relations with African states. The Minister also said that South Africa would continue to remain a member of the United Nations so long as her honour was not impugned. He referred to the growing frustration that had become increasingly discernible at the last session of the United Nations. Dr. Muller said that there were certain advantages in belonging to the United Nations, for it was where a country could have the best of possible contacts at very little cost with other nations who were interested in it. The Minister said that the Republic had expanded its network of foreign embassies and consulates. A new embassy had been opened at Montevideo, a new consulate in Bolivia, and new diplomatic missions in Paraguay, Hong Kong, Finland, Taipeh and Malawi.

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Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

INWARD SAVINGRAM

8. On 11th May the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that, although the Republic had all the potential for violence and strife, the people of South Africa had every right to point with pride to peace, quiet and visible lack of tension existing in the country. Mr. Vorster said that South Africa was, in fact, a miniature United Nations, "only we know how to behave ourselves". He said that South Africa no longer had any need to hide its light under a bushel. That was why the world today was taking a new look at South Africa "and, I dare say, liking what it sees". The Prime Minister said that South Africa was one of the foremost developed countries in the world. "Our standard of living is the fifth highest in the world, while our non-whites have the highest standard of living of all non-whites in the world and compares very favourably with many white countries in Europe and elsewhere."

RELATIONS WITH THE ARGENTINE

9. Speaking at a dinner given on 1st May for the Commander-in-Chief of the Argentine Navy, Admiral Pedro Alberto Jose Gnavi, the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, said: "Naval visits have brought our two countries closer together, and I am particularly pleased that, as a result, it has been possible for us to exchange naval attaches and that exercises between the ships of our two navies are envisaged in the future". The Admiral also paid calls on the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and the Chief of the South African Defence Forces, General R. C. Hiemstra. On 2nd May, Admiral Gnavi said that Argentinian warships would take part in joint exercises with the South African Navy during the tenth anniversary of South Africa's republic status.

RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA

10. On 5th May the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. Haak, announced the names of the sevan-man economic mission which the Government is sending to Australia in June. Mr. Haak emphasised that the mission would not be an ordinary trade mission, but would investigate the possibilities of closer economic co-operation between South Africa and Australia, including the possibilities for an expansion of trade. Mr. Haak will also visit Australia at the same time as the mission.

RELATIONS WITH GABON

11. South Africa's heart transplant surgeon, Dr. Chris Barnard, said on his return from a visit to Gabon on 1st May that he had returned home with a personal assurance from President Bongo that Gabon would never be associated with hostile actions against South Africa. Dr. Barnard said he was working on a plan to bring a group of Gabonese doctors on a visit to South Africa.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

12. The former Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. David Ben Gurion, is on a visit to South Africa on a fund-raising tour. He has visited Jewish schools, addressed Jewish meetings and had an informal meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1 195

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD SAVINGRAM

44102

I. 44102

Dated: 2nd May, 1969.

T.O.R. 7 MAY

F 201/2/2/1

FROM:
Australian Embassy,
Cape Town.

Saving No. 23/69 - UNCLASSIFIED

Repeated Accra, Dar es Salaam, Lagos, London, Nairobi

SITUATION REPORT : SOUTH AFRICA
(18th April to 1st May, 1969)

NATIONAL PARTY

The dispute between the ultra-conservatives and liberals within the National Party has dominated the political scene over the past fortnight. Dr. Hertzog's speech in the House of Assembly on 14th April (our Savingram 21/69, paragraph 9, and our telegram 96) was immediately seized upon by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, who described it as "a grievous blow against national unity", and later (21st April) brought rebukes from the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and the Leader of the National Party in the Assembly, Mr. Schoeman. The Prime Minister said the speech contained "unjustified and unsubstantiated generalisations", whilst Mr. Schoeman, who was more forthright in his criticism, said that "not one member of the National Party subscribes to the reflections and insults which, in our opinion, Dr. Hertzog made against the English-speaking people in South Africa".

2. In the House, Dr. Hertzog defended his speech, claiming that its meaning had been distorted. No insult was intended to the English-speaking people. But he managed, at the same time, to reaffirm the general sense of his original speech. He has since been cautious in his public statements, but with one notable exception (the extreme right-wing Pretoria newspaper 'Hoofstad') the press, both English and Afrikaans, has condemned Dr. Hertzog's speech as being inimical to white unity.

3. As a result of Dr. Hertzog's speech there has been much speculation about the possibility of a break away by the extreme right wing of the National Party and the role Dr. Hertzog might play in any such movement. On 18th April (our telegram 97) a meeting of about 500 extreme right-wing members of the National Party was organised in Pretoria for the express purpose of criticising alleged departures of the Vorster Government from traditional Nationalist policies. In the course of the meeting, Mr. Barry Botha, an extreme right-wing editorialist, said that in time a new political party would certainly be formed to represent the conservative wing of the National Party.

4. On his return to Johannesburg on 25th April, Dr. Hertzog was given a rousing reception by a large number of extreme right-wing supporters and there were renewed calls for a new political party. Outside the Party, Dr. Hertzog's main supporters are Mr. Barry Botha (see paragraph 3 above), Mr. S.E.D. Brown (editor of the extreme right-wing 'South African Observer'). Within the Part

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

his main supporters are Mr. Jaap Marais, Mr. L. Stofberg and Mr. Jan van Zyl. One press report says that Dr. Hertzog could count on the support of over thirty Members of Parliament, and that he would have a chance of controlling a good part of the trade union movement. However, Dr. Hertzog has stated publicly that he does notintend to leave the National Party and will leave the Party only if he is expelled. Party leaders have made it clear that they have no intention of expelling him, but recently called for an expression of support from the caucus and, with few exceptions, received it. Some form of disciplinary action is contemplated against dissidents supporting Dr. Hertzog against the Prime Minister. Mr. Schoeman has scoffed at the ambitions of those extreme right-wing members talking of a new party, and has said that the National Party will "crush" any new party formed by them.

DEFENCE

5. In the House of Assembly on 23rd April the Prime Minister said that the South African Government was carrying on discussions with other nations "at the highest level" concerning Indian Ocean defence in the context of the British withdrawal plans (our telegram 100). The South African press has since reported denials by the American, British and Australian authorities (Australia House) that their respective Governments were having defence talks with the South Africans. In the course of his present official visit to South Africa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Argentinian Navy stressed the importance of the Cape route to the Western world, but said that his country had no intention of concluding a naval pact with South Africa (our telegram 109).

6. A White Paper on Defence and Armament Production was tabled in Parliament on 24th April by the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha (our memorandum C.128). Defence spending represents some three per cent of Gross National Product in 1969/70. Speaking of the training cruises to the Argentine in 1967 and to Australia in 1968, the Paper says these visits "contribute in no small measure to the promotion of good relations and closer bonds of friendship with our maritime neighbours. Similar training cruises will be undertaken in future." On 30th April the Minister of Defence, Mr. Botha, stated that joint exercises between the South African and Argentinian Navies were planned for the future (our telegram 109).

FOREIGN RELATIONS

7. In an address to the South African Institute of International Affairs in Cape Town on 22nd April, Mr. J. Barratt, Director of the Institute, said that racial discrimination in South Africa was a barrier to the development of the "outward movement" in the country's foreign relations with the rest of Africa. "Until we have made progress in eliminating discrimination based on race, we shall never be able to move to full co-operation with even our immediate neighbours."

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN : THE D'OLIVEIRA ISSUE

8. In the House of Assembly on 21st April the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, asked the Prime Minister for clarification of his attitude towards the D'Oliveira issue in view of a statement he had made to Lord Cobham (a former President of the M.C.C.) (our Savingram 21/69, paragraph 12). The Prime Minister replied that his conversation had been private and it was not his policy to make such exchanges public. His general attitude was that he could not act as a selection committee for other countries, but he had stated clearly in 1967 that sport between South Africans would be separate. If any country or sporting body tried to prescribe mixed sport between people in South Africa relations with that country or body would be broken. The Prime Minister said that in the past, New Zealanders with Maori blood had visited South Africa and in future they would be received in the same way (paragraph 10).

9. Mr. L. P. A. Vorster, National Party, challenged the Leader of the Opposition to state what his own position was in regard to the selection of D'Oliveira. Sir de Villiers replied that he had no quarrel with the Prime Minister's conditions for allowing non-white sportsmen into South Africa, but he would have admitted D'Oliveira as he was confident that sports administrators would have been ableto control the situation.

RELATIONS WITH NEW ZEALAND

10. In the House of Assembly on 21st April, the Prime Minister said that he knew of no impediments in the way of the 1970 tour proposed by the All Blacks, but he warned the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, that if anything further was said about the situation it would play right into the hands of the leftists in New Zealand who wanted to stop the tour. Mr. Vorster added that nobody had prescribed to the New Zealand rugby authorities whom they should choose, and if the tour included players of Maori blood this would create no problem. This had caused no problem in the past. There was every agreement about the tour between the Rugby Boards of South Africa and New Zealand, and the tour programme had already been published.

RELATIONS WITH MALAGASY REPUBLIC AND MAURITIUS

11. In the House of Assembly on 23rd April the Prime Minister said that South Africa had a "good understanding" with the Malagasy Republic and Mauritius. "Thereis informal contact between us from time to time on matters of commerce and co-operation on technical matters." The Prime Minister's planning advisor had recently visited thetwo islands and had been given a cordial reception.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

FOLIO REMOVAL ADVICE

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See the Statement of Reasons Under Section 40 of the Archives Act on top of this file for reasons why this folio/s was removed.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

191

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

201/2/2/1

MA

24/4/69

I.39083

TOD 231230 LT

FROM

TOR 241252 LT

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
CAPETOWN

96 UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL PARTY POLICY

IN A RECENT SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, THE LEADER OF THE ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE GROUP OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, DR. HERTZOG, STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CALVINISM AND THE AFRIKANER TO THE FUTURE OF WHITE CIVILISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (OUR MEMORANDUM C.115).

2 THE SPEECH HAS BEEN ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY CONDEMNED IN THE AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS, BOTH OF WHICH REJECTED ITS UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY AND REGARDED IT AS AN OBSTACLE TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF WHITE UNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

3 THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION UNITED PARTY, SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF, DESCRIBED THE SPEECH AS ''A GRIEVOUS BLOW AGAINST NATIONAL UNITY'' AND DEMANDED AN UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER AS TO WHERE HE STOOD.

4 ON 21ST APRIL THE PRIME MINISTER GAVE HIS REPLY IN THE HOUSE.
AFTER A LENGTHY RE-STATEMENT OF NATIONAL PARTY POLICY ON THE NEED FOR CO-OPERATION BETWEEN AFRIKANERS AND ENGLISH SPEAKERS, MR. VORSTER DESCRIBED DR. HERTZOG'S SPEECH AS ''UNFORTUNATE'' AND SAID THAT IT CONTAINED ''UNJUSTIFIED AND UNSUBSTANTIATED GENERALISATIONS''.
IN THE COURSE OF SOME HEATED EXCHANGES,SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF MAINTAINED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD NOT CATEGORICALLY DISSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM DR. HERTZOG'S VIEWS.
AT THIS POINT, THE LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE HOUSE MR. SCHOEMAN, MINISTER OF TRANSPORT) SAID:
''I GIVE THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION THE ASSURANCE THAT NOT ONE MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY SUBSCRIBES TO THE REFLECTIONS AND THE INSULTS WHICH, IN OUR OPINION, THE HONOURABLE MEMBER FOR ERMELO (DR. HERTB HERTZOG) MADE AGAINST THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

190

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2. I.39083

I HOPE IT IS VERY CLEAR AND THAT THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING. I WANT TO PUT IT VERY PLAINLYSO THAT THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND I, AS LEADER OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE TRANSVAAL, OF WHICH THE HONOURABLE MEMBER FOR ERMELO IS A MEMBER, REJECT WITHOUT RESERVATION THE ACCUSATIONS HE MADE GAINST THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICANS.''

5 DR. HERTZOG DEFENDED HIS SPEECH, CLAIMING THAT IT HAD BEEN GIVEN A DISTORTED INTERPRETATION AND THAT BY DESCRIBING ENGLISH-SPEAKERS AS ''LIBERAL'' HE HAD MEANT THAT THEY WERE ''BROADMINDED''. NO INSULT HAD BEEN MEANT TO THE ENGLISH-SPEAKERS. AFTER ALL, A VERY LARGE PROPORTION OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION COULD BE DESCRIBED AS ''LIBERALS''. DR. HERTZOG SAID THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD STATED THE POSITION OF AFRIKANERS AND ENGLISH-SPEAKERS SO CLEARLY THAT NOBODY COULD DISAGREE WITH HIM.

6 THE CLASH HAS ONCE MORE FOCUSSED PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO MAIN FACTIONS IN THE NATIONAL PARTY AND HAS REVIVED SPECULATION THAT THE EXTREME RIGHT WING OF THE NATIONAL PARTY MIGHT AT SOME STAGE BREAK AWAY.

E.A.
D.C.O.
P.M'S.

SEC DEP SEC FAS(1) FAS(2) FAS(4) EAMEC AFME (ACTION)
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28

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

189

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

(69)

201/2/2/1

MR

24/4/69

FROM

I.39094

TOD 23.

TOR 24.0118 LT

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
CAPETOWN

97 RESTRICTED

NATIONAL PARTY

ON 18TH APRIL A MEETING OF ABOUT 500 EXTREME RIGH-WING MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY WAS ORGANIZED IN PRETORIA FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF CRITICISING ALLEGED DEPARTURES OF THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT FROM TRADITIONAL NATIONALIST POLICIES.

BARRY BOTHA (AN EXTREME RING-WING EDITORIALIST TOLD THE MEETING 'WE SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW WHAT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL PARTY ARE.

I HAVE NOT AN OUNCE OF FAITH IN THE PARTY'.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S 'OUTWARD-LOOKING' POLICY HAD BEEN FORMULATED WITHOUT THE APPROVAL OF THE PARTY'S CONGRESS.

'BY ALLOWING BLACK DIPLOMATS INTO THE COUNTRY WE ARE CREATING THE STARTING POINT OF CONTACT ACROSS THE COLOUR LINE'.

BOTHA SAID THAT IN TIME A NEW POLITICAL PARTY WOULD CER-TAINLY BE FORMED TO REPRESENT THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

2. ALTHOUGH BOTHA WAS GIVEN AN ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION, IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT NONE OF THE NATIONALIST LEADERS WAS PRESENT, AND IN THE MAIN HIS AUDIENCE COMPRISED JUNIOR (THOUGH AMBITIOUS MEMBERS OF THE PARTY.

IF A NEW PARTY IS IN FACT FORMED, THE FAIRLY WIDESPREAD VIEW HERE IS THAT, ALTHOUGH BRINGING INITIAL DISADVANTAGES TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE FORM, FOR EXAMPLE, OF A REDUCED MAJORITY, IT MIGHT IN THE LONG RUN WORK IN HIS FAVOUR, IN THAT HE WOULD NO LONGER HAVE TO HUMOUR THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING AND MIGHT AS A RESULT OF THEIR BREAK-AWAY ATTRACT CERTAIN SECTIONS FROM THE OPPOSITION UNITED PARTY.

DR HERTZOG HAS BEEN VERY DISCREET ON THE QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE BREAK-AWAY MOVEMENT, BUT IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT HE WOULD HAVE A CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH IT.

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AUSTRALIAN EYES ONLY AUSTRALIAN EYES ONLY AUSTRALIAN EYES ONLY

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

188

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2. I.39094

A/MIN. AND DEPT. E.A.
D.C.O.
P.M'S

SEC	FAS(1)	AS(JIC)	INT	SEA	DL	FAS(2)	UN	PACAM	
PPO	FAS(3)	FAS(4)	EAMEC	E	AFME(ACTION)		C	ICR	PIO

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

187

(68)

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
CAPE TOWN

20/2/2/1

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A.
APR 24 8 51 AM '69
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT

In reply quote No. 202/2/1

Memorandum No. C.115

17th April, 1969.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

DR. HERTZOG : STATEMENT ON NATIONAL PARTY AIMS

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

Dr. Albert Hertzog, who was removed last year from the Cabinet (presumably for his opposition to the Prime Minister's "outward-looking" policies), made a speech in the House of Assembly on 14th April. This gives a good idea of the philosophy of the "verkrampte" (ultra-conservative) group of the National Party and the political theories with which the Prime Minister has to contend. A press summary is attached.

(John Forsythe)
Counsellor

jf/mjm

CHECKED

Mr McCarthy 1-18

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CAPE TIMES 15/4/1969

Hertzog sets limits to Nat. leadership

CALVINISM SEEN AS ESSENTIAL

THERE were powers in South Africa engaged in breaking down the spiritual defensibility (*weerbaarheid*) of the Calvinistic people, and if the country was serious in its purpose to maintain its White civilization, it was vitally essential that those onslaughts should be withstood, Dr. Albert Hertzog (Nat., Ermelo) said in the Assembly yesterday.

Dr. Hertzog, who was speaking in the Budget debate, said that in the struggle which lay ahead for South Africa — which could perhaps be the greatest and most violent of all her struggles — it would again be the man with those wonderful Calvinistic principles who would be called upon.

There was, however, a condition, and that was that the country would be able to rely upon that man only for as long as he was the bearer of those principles.

Referring to the speech made by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, in the debate last week, Dr. Hertzog said the rate of development of the country was already very high, perhaps too high, and to increase it would only amount to an increase of the economic problems facing the country.

'Problems'

Sir De Villiers had pleaded for that rate to be increased so that more non-Whites could be drawn into the skilled and semi-skilled jobs. If the country followed that advice, it would not only be heading for economic but also for political problems.

After his recent visit to South Africa, the former British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, had said that racial tension in South Africa could increase sharply if the non-Whites became an economic force, and that the non-Whites would use the economic power to exert political pressure.

He had made these remarks after he had met many members of the Opposition, perhaps including the Leader of the Opposition, and although he (Dr. Hertzog) did not believe that Sir De Villiers Graaff had the same aim in mind with his ideas, it was certain that the implementation of his ideas would have the same result.

Impression

During the debate one had gathered that the United Party was not really concerned about the White man who had made South Africa what it was, who had made of it a real home for all its peoples and without whom the country would not be able to exist, but that its real concern was for the Black man. Members of the party had stressed imaginary grudges of the non-White peoples. Without the White man, civilization would eventually appear to [illegible]

ing of the tension on the international sphere, as far as South Africa was concerned, would be not only temporary. South Africa should, however, prepare itself for the responsibility that it could well be only temporary, and that the animosity against the country would again increase.

Enemies' aim

The real objection against South Africa was that the White minority was governing the country. The country's enemies wanted the majority to govern, no matter how underdeveloped and savage they were. In essence it all amounted to the fact that the Whites, as an able and civilized nation, dared govern the country. For as long as the Whites wanted to do this they could expect tension aimed at them to build up.

More and more Chinese communists were entering Zambia and Tanzania, and the pro-communist propaganda there would gradually increase. That propaganda had as its main feature that it created hatred.

In the long run South Africa must expect that this propaganda and animosity against the country would increase. The Government was aware of this and that was why it had made sure the country's defence system was continually improved.

Great weapon

When a country was facing such a position it did not discard weapons it could use, because then it would weaken itself. South Africa had one great weapon, and that was the nation itself. The country could not win any struggle unless its people were spiritually defensible. At the moment there were powers in South Africa which were engaged in breaking this spiritual defensibility on a massive scale.

The country's White population was its greatest asset. The two main parts of this population, the Afrikaners and the English-speaking people, had much in common, but they also differed much. If the country wanted to make use of the two to the best, they had to be understood correctly.

The Afrikaners were mainly anchored to church and religion and were mainly Calvinistic, which was part of their pattern of life and their education.

Assurance

It was a basic principle of Calvinism that people must always be upright and just towards each other. That was the reason why everybody who knew the Nationalist Afrikaner also knew that he would never have any reason to fear unjustness from him.

A second principle was that the Calvinist recognized the differences of the creation and for that reason he granted to everyone what was his own, such as language and culture, no matter what the level of civilization was.

For this reason the English-speaking people need have no fear that the Calvinistic nationalist would tamper with his rights or would take them away from him. Those rights were as safe in the hands of the Calvinistic Nationalist than in the hands of the English-speaking people themselves.

A great and vital principle of the Calvinistic Afrikaner was his attachment to freedom. Nobody—not even a Government dared tamper with this.

Authority

Another characteristic of the Calvinist was the principle that he subjected himself to authority and that he would resist anybody who attempted to undermine authority. In such a case he would not hesitate to make use of legislation such as the 90-day and 180-day detention clauses and measures to restrict movement. However, the moment the Calvinist realized that the authority was acting to the detriment of his Calvinistic principles he would reject that [illegible]

It was because he possessed all those principles that the Calvinistic Afrikaner was such a good soldier and upholder of the White civilization. That was the reason why he still existed in Africa when so many others had already disappeared. This was also the reason why he would, in future, remain in Africa.

Good service

The English section of the South African population possessed wonderful virtues and had already been of very good service to South Africa. Basically they were not Calvinistic but liberalistic. Proof of this was what the English author Calpin had said in a book published recently. Calpin said the English seldom got rid of their Englishness, and that they were still clinging to British ideas.

"This liberalism was part of the whole nature of our English-speaking friends. They cannot detach themselves from this, just as we cannot detach ourselves from our Calvinism."

That was the reason why the English-speaking people so easily became the victims of communism and leftist teachings. That was the reason why the English had to leave Africa and why they were, to a great extent, disappearing in their own country.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CAPE TIMES 15/4/1969

185

CALVINISM ONLY WAY, HERTZOG WARNS

'Relax means collapse' Vorster told

Cape Times Political Reporter

DR. ALBERT HERTZOG, deposed Cabinet Minister, yesterday indirectly warned the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, that unless he led the country in strict conformity to Calvinistic principles, his power would collapse.

It was the first time this session that Dr. Hertzog, believed to be one of the chief "backroom boys" of the *verkrampte* group, has spoken in the Assembly. Mr. Vorster listened attentively throughout his speech and nearly every other Cabinet Minister was present.

Dr. Hertzog appeared to be sticking closely to well-prepared notes. He ignored Opposition jibes about his attitude to Mr. S. E. D. Brown, editor of the extreme right-wing anti-Vorster journal *SA Observer*.

Towards the end of his speech, Dr. Hertzog seemed to be paying an indirect compliment to Mr. Vorster. He said Calvinistic principles were responsible for the passing of such "absolutely inexorably essential" measures as the 180-day law, house arrest and the silencing of agitators — all guided through Parliament by Mr. Vorster when Minister of Justice.

A true Calvinist, he said, was the "bearer of the code of moral, ethical and religious principles. These are the principles which strengthen man spiritually to withstand the greatest onslaughts."

Then, looking at the future, Dr. Hertzog said the struggle lying ahead of South Africa was perhaps the most violent and most powerful yet to be encountered.

And the man who would be in the front line of that struggle would again be the "bearer of these wonderful Calvinistic principles".

It was at this point that it became clear Dr. Hertzog was aiming his remarks at the present "outward going" leadership of the Nationalist Party.

Main difference

Referring (but not by name) to the country's leader, he said: "But there is a condition attached. This condition is that we (the Afrikaners) will be able to rely on him only as long as he is in actuality the bearer of those Calvinistic principles.

"The moment he relaxes those principles, his power will collapse."

Earlier, Dr. Hertzog outlined what he regarded as the most deciding difference between the English-speaking and the Afrikaans-speaking.

Basically, the Afrikaners were Calvinistic. The English-speaking were basically liberal in outlook.

"This liberalism is part of our English-speaking friends' whole being. They cannot rid themselves from this, just as little as we can loose ourselves from our Calvinistic background.

"That is why our English-speaking group so easily become victims to onslaughts of the communists and the new leftist movements which always use freedom with which to destroy freedom."

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

185

201/2/2/1

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A.
OCT 3 12 05 PM '68
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT

In reply quote No. 202/2/1
Memorandum No. 456

26th September, 1968.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

NATIONAL PARTY : NATAL LEADERSHIP

We reported in our Savingram No. 47/68, paragraph 10, the resignation, for reasons of ill health, of Mr. W. A. Maree, former leader of the National Party in Natal. The press in the Transvaal immediately reported that Dr. H. Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was almost certain to take over the leadership. It was known that Dr. Muller favoured the idea, and that he would have the full backing of the Prime Minister.

2. Elections were held during the recent Durban congress of the Party. These resulted most unexpectedly in the defeat of the Minister. The leadership ~~ship~~ went to Mr. P. H. Torlage, who is not well known. His most important appointment so far has been Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission.

3. The most likely reason for Dr. Muller's defeat is the fact that there was not adequate consultation with the Natal Branch of the Party, who seem to have resented what they regard as a high-handed attempt on the part of the Transvaal "establishment" to impose its will in Natal politics. The first Natal heard of Dr. Muller's candidature was through the Transvaal Press. Had there been prior consultation and had the normal formalities been observed, the result would probably have been different. Mr. Torlage can in no way be compared with Dr. Muller. His appointment as Natal leader will no doubt embarrass the Prime Minister, as the general assumption is that Natal warrants a Cabinet Minister, or at least Deputy Minister. Mr. Torlage has so far not shown that he is Ministerial material.

4. Although the election of Mr. Torlage may be taken as a "slap" at the National Party "establishment", the Prime Minister's standing is unlikely to be seriously affected. The congresses of the Party in Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Durban have all given him overwhelming support as leader.

(John Forsythe)
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

CHRONOLOGICAL

jf/mjm

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

184

(66)

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A
AUG 24 11 47 AM '68
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT

In reply quote No. 202/1
Memorandum No. 387

16th August, 1968.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

201/2/2/1
(copy filed on 201/2/1)

SOUTH AFRICA : POLITICAL

Please refer to our memorandum No. 314 of 10th July, 1968, dealing with the case of the "smear" letter.

2. The authors of the "smear" letter were expelled from the National Party and from the Nasionale Jeugbond (National Youth Movement) on 12th August. They will not be allowed to join the National Party or the Youth Movement in the future, unless they are approved by the head committee of the Party. None of them was well-known before this incident.

3. On 13th August the authors issued a public statement attacking the National Party, saying that it no longer represented the ideals, aims and prayers of the Afrikaner nation. They said: "Now that we have been kicked out of the National Party, we can no longer raise our voices against policy changes which have been introduced into the Party by liberals. There are many Nationalists who are concerned about the developments, but we trust that they will not now leave the Party but continue to fight to keep the Party of Dr. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd as the political national front of the Afrikaner." The authors claimed that their expulsion had been based on information given to the Transvaal National Party by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and he in turn obtained his information from the Security Police. The authors said that their expulsion from the Party had not in any way answered the questions that were causing concern in the National Party. These questions were: What is the "outwards" policy? What are the social implications of Black diplomats and visits from invited people from non-White countries like Dr. Aroti Dutt of India? What is the National Party's sport policy, and what happens to the National Party when a Louis du Plessis can attack the Afrikaner Studentebond in the name of the National Party?

4. We discussed these questions with Mr. Barry Botha, the author of a pamphlet "The Case About the Smear Brief". We have a copy of this pamphlet, but have not forwarded it to you as it is printed in Afrikaans. Mr. Botha claimed that there was considerable support for his own "verkrampte" views and for those of his colleagues. He was satisfied that their campaign had brought the true issues before the National Party and he was confident that he had stimulated considerable sympathy. He went on to state that the Government, by its new outward policies, had chosen a new principle that was in conflict with basic Afrikaner life and thought. It was this conflict of principle that would have to be settled before any true unity could come back to the National Party.

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R.L.C. Cotton
(R. L. C. Cotton)
Third Secretary

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

183

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

JMW

I.68156

FROM

DATED 19/8/68
1053 LT

File 201/2/2/1

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

REC'D 19/8/68
2020 LT

369 UNCLASSIFIED

REPEATED SAVINGRAM ACCRA, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, LONDON, NAIROBI

SOUTH AFRICA - POLITICAL

ON 16TH AUGUST PRIME MINISTER VORSTER MADE A MAJOR POLICY SPEECH COVERING THE FOLLOWING ITEMS

2 LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL PARTY
MR VORSTER SAID - ''YOU CHOSE ME AS YOUR LEADER AND AS LONG AS I AM, I WILL TRUST THAT I HAVE THE COURAGE OF MY CONVICTIONS TO DO SHAT IS NECESSARY.
I HAVE SAID HOW I SEE THINGS.
IF I AM WRONG YOU WILL HAVE TO GET YOURSELVES ANOTHER LEADER.
IF I AM RIGHT I EXPECT THE SUPPORT OF EVERYONE.''

3 BLACK DIPLOMATS
THE PRIME MINISTER REAFFIRMED THE POLICY OF ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FIRENDLY BLACK STATES AND ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MORE AND MORE COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND CONFER MORE OFTEN WITH AFRICAN STATESMEN BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE REPUBLIC.

4 OLYMPIC GAMES
MR VORSTER SAID THAT THE GAMES WERE NOT JUST FOR WHITE PEOPLE, BUT WERE FOR PEOPLE OF ALL COLOURS AND ALL NATIONS.

5 SUPER AFRIKANERS
THE PRIME MINISTER ATTACKED THESE ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY AND SAID - ''FOR TWO YEARS I HAVE SHOWN THE GREATEST PATIENCE AND I AM NOT PREPARED TO BE PATIENT WITH THESE MALICIOUS PEOPLE ANY MORE.''

6 IMMIGRATION
MR VORSTER APOLOGISED TO IMMIGRANTS FOR THE EXPRESSIONS CERTAIN PEOPLE HAD USED IN CRITICISING THEIR PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
HE SAID - ''IT IS MORE FITTING TO EXPRESS OUR THANKS TO IMMIGRANTS WHO, BY COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA, HAVE HELPED TO ENSURE THE FUTURE OF THE WHITES.''

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

182

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

JMW .2. I.68156

7 ENGLISH-AFRIKANER UNITY
THE PRIME MINISTER EMPHASISED THAT IT WAS THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY TO FORGE A UNITY BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS SPEAKING GROUPS IN THE REPUBLIC.
''WE MUST AND WILL BUILD A NATION IN SOUTH AFRICA COMPOSED OF BOTH LANGUAGE GROUPS.''
HE ADDED THAT LANGUAGE DID NOT MATTER SO MUCH AS PERSONAL LOYALTY TO SOUTH AFRICA.

8 MR VORSTER CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT NONE OF THE OUTWARD-LOOKING POLICIES HE WAS APPLYING WOULD UNDERMINE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.
HE SAID THAT THE METHODS WHICH WERE APPROPRIATE FOR PREVIOUS PRIME MINISTERS MIGHT NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO HIS OWN POLICIES IN THE FUTURE.
HE CONTINUED - ''WE WILL WORK OUT OUR OWN SOLUTION HERE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND WE DON'T NEED THE ADVICE OF ANYONE ELSE OUTSIDE.
SOUTH AFRICA'S COLOUR PROBLEMS ARE A MILLION TIMES LARGER THAN THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH ARE FAILING TO FIND A SOLUTION AND WE WILL NEVER CONSIDER A POLICY OF INTEGRATION TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS.''

9. FULL REPORT BY BAG.

MIN. & DEPT E.A.
MIN. & DEPT DEFENCE
MIN. & DEPT TERRITORIES
D.C.O.
P.M.'S.

19/8/68

SEC DEP SEC FAS(1) FAS(2) UN PACAM AMSP PPO FAS(3)
FAS(4) EAMEC E AFME@ ICR PIO

ACCRA DAR ES SALAAM LAGOS NAIROBI

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

CFP I.66319

FROM DATED 12/8/68 1645 LT

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY PRETORIA REC'D 13/8/68 0105 LT

356 RESTRICTED.

ADDRESSED CANBERRA. REPEAT SAVINGRAM LONDON, WASHINGTON, ACCRA DAR-ES-SALAAM, LAGOS, NAIROBI.

SOUTH AFRICA - POLITICAL

WE ARE REPORTING DETAILS BY SAVINGRAM OF PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S CABINET RESHUFFLE OF 9TH AUGUST.
MAIN MINISTERS INVOLVED WERE HERTZOG (HEALTH), LE ROUX (INTERIOR) TROLLIP (IMMIGRATION).

2. REMOVAL OF FORMER WAS UNDOUBTEDLY DUE TO POLITICAL REASONS.
HERTZOG, WHO SOME TIME AGO WAS DEPRIVED OF HIS PORTFOLIO OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS IN FAVOUR OF A VORSTER SUPPORTER, IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE ''VERKRAMPTES'' (ULTRA CONSERVATIVES) IN NATIONAL PARTY AND ONE OF THE MAIN CRITICS OF PRIME MINISTER'S ''OUTWARD-LOOKING'' POLICIES TOWARDS NEIGHBOURING BLACK AFRICAN STATES AND OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF INCREASED IMMIGRATION BY ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND ROMAN CATHOLICS.

3. FEUD BETWEEN '' VERKRAMPTES'' AND ''VERLIGTES'' (LIBERALS) WHICH APPEARED TO HAVE DIED DOWN HAS RECENTLY BEEN REVIVED AND CLASHES AT VARIOUS LEVELS HAVE TAKEN PLACE OVER PAST FEW WEEKS.
A SERIES OF NATIONAL CONGRESSES OF THE PARTY IS TO BEGIN IN NEAR FUTURE AND BY DISMISSING PHERTZIG PRIME MINISTER HAS THROWN FULL WEIGHT OF HIS AUTHORITY BEHIND THE ''VERLIGTES''.

4. APART FROM POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, PRIME MINISTER HAS ALSO ACTED AGAINST INEFFICIENCY NOTABLY IN IMMIGRATION AND INTERIOR.
SENATOR TROLLIP (IMMIGRATION) HAS LONG SINCE BEEN IN POOR HEALTH AND NEEDED LITTLE PROMPTING TO RESIGN ON THESE GROUNDS AND FOR AGE REASONS.
LE ROUX (INTERIOR) HAD UNDISTINGUISHED RECORD AS MINISTER AND WAS PARTICULARLY INEPT IN HANDLING IMPORTANT ISSUES DURING LAST PARLIAMENTARY SESSION.

5. IN GENERAL THE PRIME MINISTER HAS PURSUED HIS POLICY OF BUILDING UP A TEAM OF YOUTHFUL AND VIGOROUS MINISTERS PREPARED TO PUSH HIS POLICIES AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE ''VERKRAMPTES''.
IT WILL BE SURPRISING IF HERTZOG'S DISMISSAL IS NOT SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED BY HIS SUPPORTERS, AS HIS INFLUENCE IS SUBSTANTIAL IN THE EXTREME RIGHT WING OF THE PARTY.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

180

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT HIS DISMISSAL MAY LEAD TO A BREAK-AWAY MOVEMENT BY THE EXTREME RIGHT, BUT THIS SEEMS UNLIKELY AT THIS STAGE.

THE PRIME MINISTER SEEMS UNPERTURBED BY SUCH A PROSPECT, AND AS USUAL SUPREMELY CONFIDENT OF HIS POSITION.

THE LONG-TERM QUESTION IS WHETHER HE HAS ACCURATELY GAUGED THE FEELINGS OF THE ELECTORATE AS A WHOLE IN PRESSING A MORE LIBERAL LINE ON A NUMBER OF VITAL ISSUES.

FORSYTHE.

MIN. AND DEPT E.A.
MIN. AND DEPT DEFENCE
D.C.O.
P.M'S.

13/8/68

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

179 (63)

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.E.A.
JUL 19 2 50 PM '68
NOM. INDEX. SUBJECT
201/2/2/1
(copy filed on 201/2/1)

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

In reply quote No. 202/2/1

Memorandum No. 314

10th July, 1968

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
Canberra.

SOUTH AFRICA - NATIONAL PARTY

You will be aware of the "verligte" (liberal) and "verkrampte" (conservative) division within the National Party. In recent weeks a "whispering campaign" and a "smear" letter have added to the tensions between these two groups of the National Party.

2. The "whispering campaign" which had gone on for several weeks, alleged that Ministers were filling their pockets at the taxpayers' expense and were betraying Afrikaaner principles to such an extent that they could properly be called "Kaffir boeties"(native lovers). On 14th June, the Minister of Posts & Telegraphs, Mr. Van Rensburg felt it necessary to speak out publicly against these rumours. He accused "Super Afrikaaners" of being responsible for a nationwide whisphering campaign that had the deliberate aim of breaking political leaders and placing Cabinet Ministers in an untenable position. The Minister emphasised that this was no time for members of the National Party to be fighting amongst themselves, in view of the grave international dangers facing South Africa.

3. On 20th June, some six days after Mr. Van Rensburg's speech, the press reported the existence of a "smear" letter. The letter was addressed to the Prime Minister,(Mr. Vorster), Mr. P. W. Botha (Minister of Defence and leader of the National Party in the Cape), Mr. M. C. Van Rensburg (Minister of Posts & Telegraphs and leader of the National Party in the Orange Free State), Mr. Blaer Cootzee (Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration) and other prominent Afrikaaners, both within and without the National Party. The letter began with an appeal on behalf of the enlightened student youth to other youth to accept the challenges of the modern world. The letter adopted the tactic of damning with faint praise. It praised Mr. Vorster and his colleagues for supporting the American Leader Exchange Programme, the American Field Service Scheme and for fostering co-operation between the English and Afrikaans speaking universities. The letter referred to Mr. Vorster as someone "not enslaved by principles to a lower mentality but placed by new thinking and by adaptability on the great road outwards to regain lost prestige in the world for South Africa and all its peoples". The letter warned that "there is no more room for verkrampte Nationalists, the Afrikaaner Studentebond (a student organisation representing Afrikaner Universities) and the arch conservative Dr. Hertzog in the new forward striving of Mr. Vorster and others". The letter concluded by advising how best to develop this outwards movement, that is; there should be closer contacts between student organisations at Afrikaans and English Universities, clubs and societies should be activated to build bridges of friendship with Rotarians and Lions International and brotherly discussion between Church Councils and the Christian Institute should be encouraged.

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AND ATTACHMENT IF NOT REQUIRED
Mr Hurley

Mr Anderson
(Africa)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

178

4. The section of the Afrikaner press representing the National Party reacted violently to the letter and called for the establishment of the identity of the authors. On 20th June, Die Burger (the official voice of the National Party in the Cape) explained how the letter was written; "Under a transparent veneer of ironical support for the Prime Minister and the Government's policy is distorted into nothing but a sell-out or betrayal". While Die Transvaaler said that the letter "was skilfully, cunningly and cleverly compiled by a master in the art of casting suspicion by association." In the following week, the Prime Minister called upon the Security Police to establish the identity of the authors. In a speech on 28th June, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that he knew that the authors of the letter were certain Afrikaner youths in Pretoria. He went on - "I know who they are, every one of them. They are good boys who could have a good future, but were used by older people who did not have the courage to divulge their own names. They used the younger people for their own ends. I have an intense dislike of people who stab one in the back and bite one in the heels". Mr. Vorster then spoke of the future for Afrikaner youth, by saying that Afrikaner boys and girls could and must co-operate with English speaking people. They could do this without sacrificing a single principle for they had already won their struggle to retain their identity.

5. Accompanied by a fanfare of press headings such as "Jackals Come Out of Their Pretoria Holes", the authors of the letter held a press conference on 30th June. The reputed spokesman and adviser of the group was Mr. Barry Botha, the leader of an extreme Nationalist Youth Body (Jopie Fourie branch of the Jeugbond). The other joint authors were Mr. Te Groen, Mr. S. F. Van Hysteen, Mr. A. J. Nel and Mr. Jan Prinsloo, all politically unknown and with the common background of graduation from Afrikaans Universities and work in the verkrampte groups of the National Party.

6. At his press conference, Mr. Botha spoke of the "signs of coalition which were of concern to young people, especially as shown by the coalition between the English press, especially the Sunday Times and certain Afrikaans newspapers". Mr. Botha continued : "There is already coalition in financial and business circles. There is already greater unanimity between certain Ministers and the United Party over immigration, black diplomats, the new sports policy and expulsion of Afrikaans cultural organisations, than there is between the Ministers and numerous Afrikaner Nationalists. Friendship between the English Press and the National Party leaders is the most certain kind of danger. The young people reject any gesture of friendship with the English press because it is the kiss of death".

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

177

7. On 30th June, Mr. Ben Schoeman, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Transport and leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, said that the fate of the authors of the letter would be decided in August, by an executive committee of the Transvaal National Party. Mr. Schoeman said he had discussed the matter fully with Mr. Vorster and he supported everything the Prime Minister had said. Mr. Schoeman said he anticipated suspension of the authors from the party and he would endeavour to establish the identity of the "older persons" and act against them as well. Mr. Schoeman concluded : "it is a base and disgraceful thing they have done to cast suspicion on the Prime Minister in such a mean way".

8. Mr. Vorster has outmanoeuvred his opponents and in this he was aided by their poor choice and use of such tactics as a "whispering campaign" and a "smear letter". Mr. Vorster has undoubtedly gained the sympathy of many National Party members who deplore the use of such tactics. However, the criticism of the increasing unity between English and Afrikaner groups, a policy supported and encouraged by the Prime Minister, will continue to strike a responsive chord in the more conservative Afrikaner, and he can be expected to renew his attack by those means now open to him, namely; the cultural organisations and Afrikans newspapers sympathetic to his views, the influential Dutch Reformed Churches and sympathetic members of Parliament of the genre of Dr. Hertzog and Mr. Jaap Marais.

9. It seems likely that future disputes between the verligte and verkrampte wings of the National Party will continue over the policy of promoting a greater unity between English and Afrikaner groups in South Africa, as well as on the other issues we have already reported.

R L Cotton

(R. L. C. Cotton)
Third Secretary

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

176

(62)

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY,
~~XXXXXXXX~~ Pretoria

In reply quote no. 202/2/1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
201/2/2/1
3 NOV 1967
CANBERRA

MEMO NO. 581

20th October, 1967.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA..A.C.T..Australia.

NATIONAL PARTY POLICY: STATEMENT BY DR. DE WET

The Minister of Planning and Mines, Dr. De Wet, said on the 19th October that the rest of the world, including the United States, was on the brink of bankruptcy. The South African Government would take every step to prevent such a situation arising in the Republic.

2. He appealed to a 400-strong National Party meeting to practise every economy to redeem existing debts and not to incur any further debt. He deplored the widespread strikes taking place in Britain, saying it was the action of communists. The Free World could not tolerate a situation where any member of the Free World was forced into difficulties and problems through the actions of communists. For that reason South Africa was fighting the terrorists. South Africa would exterminate them and ensure that they would never cause any harm in South Africa. He ~~saluted~~ praised the police and their relatives for what they endured in the service of their country.

3. Dr. De Wet said the greatest concern of the United Nations to-day was the peace prevailing in South Africa. The time had come for South Africa to convey its image to the world, but only on the basis that the rest of the world accept South Africa as it was. There was no doubt that the only basis for peaceful co-existence was separate development. He praised the degree of national unity now prevailing in South Africa, and said the time had come for all in South Africa to discuss matters of mutual concern on the basis of South Africa first. The United Party was diminishing daily in its representation in Parliament because of its "unnational" policies. The only guarantee for national unity was to give English-speaking South Africans the full and absolute assurance that their language and culture would always have a place in South Africa. They in turn should grant the other section the same guarantees.

CHECKED

(J.A.Forsythe)
COUNSELLOR

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Com in full
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JAF/PB ~~MR HIRTLEY~~

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

RESTRICTED

INWARD SAVINGRAM

179 (61)

7 201/2/2/11

I.54118

Dated : 11th August, 1967

Rec'd: 17th August, 1967.

From :

Australian Embassy,
PRETORIA.

SAVINGRAM No. 49/67 RESTRICTED
Repeated London

NATIONAL PARTY POLITICS

VERLIGTE v. VERKRAMPTE

Debate between the two White groups in South Africa, Afrikaans and English speaking, is fairly constant. Too often it is concerned with questions on the merest fringe of the country's real problem - the race problem - reflecting a dichotomy which has obtained in the country from before the Boer War. In the last few months, however, a new dispute of fairly sharp dimensions has arisen inside the Afrikaner group between two sections currently described as the verkrampte (ultra conservatives) and verligte ("the enlightened" or more liberal). The leaders of the former are Dr. Hertzog, Minister for Posts & Telegraphs, Mr. Jap Marais M.P., and Dr. Meyer, chairman of the board of governors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. An extreme right wing journal, the "South African Observer" edited by Mr. S. E. D. Brown is also involved. The main targets among the verligte include Mr. Pier Cillié, the competent and liberal editor of "Die Burger" which is the best of the Afrikaans language journals. The Afrikaans press line up in the dispute is notably "Die Burger" and its sister journal "Die Beeld" in support of the verligte and "Die Vaderland" in support of the verkrampte. The argument has been followed with relish by the English language press.

2. There was little evidence of the quarrel in Dr. Verwoerd's time although in that period an extreme right wing party (the Republican Party) did emerge but had no success. The quarrel has come into prominence since Mr. Vorster succeeded to the Premiership. It is hard to define it in terms of essential Afrikaner doctrine except by saying that it has arisen because of differences over Mr. Vorster's policies - particularly those concerning mixed sport (he has diluted to some extent the old colour exclusiveness), immigration (the number of English speaking migrants, seen as a threat to the Afrikaans language, and of Mediterranean migrants, most of them Catholic, are regarded with apprehension by traditional Afrikaner groups and the Dutch Reformed Churches) and foreign affairs (Mr. Vorster has encouraged the idea of closer links with African states).

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD SAVINGRAM

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174

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3. Last week Mr. Vorster intervened. He publicly described the quarrel as "unbecoming" and rebuked those taking part in it for causing confusion among Afrikaners at a time when neither they nor the country could afford it. "Die Vaderland" has heeded the rebuke but "Die Burger" and "Die Beeld" have not. The Prime Minister's full reaction might become more apparent when the Transvaal Congress of the National Party meets in Pretoria from September 5th to 7th and when the Prime Minister makes up his mind about changes in the Cabinet which have been forecast. The names being mentioned for possible retirement are those of Mr. Fouche, Minister for Agricultural Technical Services (owing to age); Mr. Trollip, Minister for Immigration (owing to ill health) and Senator de Klerk, Minister for Education. Senator de Klerk is being spoken of as a possible successor to Dr. Donges, the State President elect if the latter is through ill health unable to assume office; alternatively Senator de Klerk might become President of the Senate if Senator Naude, the present President of that body, takes over the State Presidency. There is, in particular, speculation that Dr. Hertzog may be dropped from the Cabinet or transferred to another portfolio.

4. Meanwhile, Mr. Fouche, who is a senior member of the Cabinet and previously held the Defence portfolio, is reported to have said in an address to the National Party at Bloemfontein on 9th August that South Africa would eventually have to consider allowing in Black ambassadors; it would be suicide not to recognise this fact. ("We live in Africa - in an Africa of free and independent nations - and we will have to do the right thing at the right time. We will have to strengthen our economic ties as well as our ties of friendship"). He warned right wing quarters against causing friction. On immigration he was aware that certain people were becoming restive but he would like to remind them that South Africa was a nation of immigrants and all had come from foreign countries. He did not believe that the Afrikaner would be ploughed under. He made light of the religious threat. It can be judged that Mr. Fouche was reflecting the attitude of the Prime Minister, who appears to have most of his Cabinet behind him in wanting to dampen down the quarrel. It is of interest too that, as a director of Nasionale Pers, which prints both "Die Burger" and "Die Beeld", Mr. P. W. Botha, the Defence Minister and one of the more powerful members of the Cabinet, has come out in defence of the integrity of both Mr. Cillié and Mr. Pienaar, the editor of "Die Beeld".

5. The importance of the dispute is not to be exaggerated. The Johannesburg "Star" regards it as nothing more than a loosening up in a people who have for generations been tightly knit by the need to fight one enemy or another or achieve major group goals. Taking advantage of the situation are a number of individuals (read verkrampte) who are attempting to further their political careers. The responsible journal "Newscheck" sees the controversy simply as one concerned with power, with the verkrampte as the challengers. It is not thought that they will get very far.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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INWARD SAVINGRAM

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17th August, 1967.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

In reply quote No. 202/1

Memorandum No. 70

3rd February, 1967.

201 2 2
8 FEB 1967
Indexed by

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

SOUTH AFRICA : POLITICAL PARTIES

.... Attached for your background information is a copy of an article from the South African fortnightly magazine 'News/Check' of 27th January, 1967, assessing the role and significance of the present political parties
.... of South Africa. We are also attaching an article entitled "Vorster and the Future of Nationalist Policy", written by the editor of 'News/Check' and which appeared in the South African quarterly 'Optima' for December, 1966. It should be noted that the writer of both articles, Mr. Krause, is an Afrikaner and generally a supporter of National Party policy, although he would probably describe himself as an independent Afrikaner intellectual. We would commend these two articles to your attention.

.... 2. Also attached is an article by the long-established and reputable political correspondent of the 'Sunday Times', Stanley Uys, on how the various parties are shaping up in the present session of Parliament.

W. Mayne Wilson

(W. Mayne-Wilson)
Second Secretary

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

wmw/mjm

PLEASE DESTROY DUPLICATE AND ATTACHMENT IF NO REPLY

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

SUNDAY TIMES 29/1/62

Graaff a tireless leader

VORSTER PLAYS IT DOWN THE MIDDLE

POLITICAL COMMENT
By Stanley Uys

PARLIAMENT has opened briskly but not exactly eventfully. Mr. Vorster particularly played it cool this week.

Opposition M.P.s who were expecting the Prime Minister to make a long policy speech of the kind that the late Dr. Verwoerd used to make were surprised when, after a chatty little speech of about half an hour, he sat down. Now it seems we will never know just what kind of person Mr. Vorster is.

Mr. Vorster's capacity for playing it down the middle is quite remarkable. The Cabinet changes, for example, were quite formal—Dr. Diederichs to Finance, Mr. Haak to Economic Affairs and Dr. De Wet recalled from London to take over Planning. Nothing unusual here.

Those among us with long memories could recall, of course, that when Dr. De Wet was a young M.P. he made a spine-chilling remark about Sharpeville. That was in 1960, though.

Since then, too, Dr. De Wet has been exposed to the taming influences of diplomatic life in London. We must assume, therefore, that Mr. Vorster is not bringing back a firebrand to the Cabinet.

That being the case, there is nothing to get excited about over the composition of the new cabinet.

Fine leader

THE Opposition was not out to cause any excitement either this week. The matters it raised were good solid issues like finance, agriculture, education, etc. Its principal speakers argued their case persuasively with Sir De Villiers Graaff as the pace setter.

With nearly 20 extremely competent debaters, the United Party is lucky indeed to have him as a leader. Being in opposition all these years is a dispiriting experience, but somehow Sir De Villiers is tirelessly and magnificently optimistic.

To correct an earlier remark — there was a moment when the United Party introduced some excitement — in the debate on the report of the Van Wyk Commission which investigated Dr. Verwoerd's assassination.

It is clear from the report that if the Department of the Interior had been more efficient, Tsafendas would have been deported before he had had [illegible] to stab Dr. Ver[illegible] in silence

when the U.P.'s spokesman, Mr. T. Gray Hughes (Transkei), evaluating Mr. Justice Van Wyk's finding, said it was incredible that there could have been so many slips and so much incompetence in the departments which allowed Tsafendas to enter and remain in South Africa.

The Minister of the Interior disclosed that the department is being overhauled but a proper overhaul would involve an overhaul of human nature — muddle and inefficiency are as old as original sin.

The immediate effect of this overhaul is likely to be that officials in future will err on the side of caution. They are going to be tougher in their handling of aliens and others.

Indignant

MR. HUGHES is a good attacking speaker and he presented his case forcefully. He has the gift of looking indignant, a gift every aspiring M.P. should carry in his knapsack. Mr. Hughes can become so indignant that he actually splutters.

Another good Opposition speech was made by Mrs. Catherine Taylor (U.P. Wynberg). She dealt with the way in which the Government applied rigid ideological ideas to complex administrative problems.

Mrs. Taylor is an intelligent woman — if she were not she would not have held on to her seat as the United Party's only woman M.P. Male prejudice would have been too formidable.

The United Party should try to get more women into its parliamentary ranks. Not the old-fashioned political battle-axes (of whom it has had a few) but modern, articulate, outward-looking women with something intelligent to say like Mrs. Taylor.

Having emancipated themselves from male political tutelage, these women value their emancipation and often make much better use of their parliamentary jobs than men who have never known what it is to have escaped from tutelage into freedom.

New angle

A SHORTCOMING of many M.P.s — to change the subject — is that they seldom say anything original. For this reason Mr. C. J. Reinecke (Nat., Pretoria District) is to be congratulated on having found an entirely new scapegoat for inflation — advertising agents who, he says, are changing the South African way of life, tempting housewives to spend more than their husbands can afford.

Vorster's task

TO get back to Mr. Vorster: As the first week's debate of the new parliamentary session passed and Ministers gave notice of pending legislation, and what we journalists call "informed circles" gave hints of other legislation, the pattern of Mr. Vorster's future career took on clearer outlines.

In retrospect we can see that Dr. Malan brought the Nationalist Party to power, Mr. Strijdom helped to consolidate Nationalism, Dr. Verwoerd completed this consolidation and produced the apartheid blueprints — and now Mr. Vorster has to make the whole thing work.

Of all the Nationalist Prime Ministers, therefore, Mr. Vorster's task is the most difficult one. It is just that little extra bit difficult, too, because the blueprints bequeathed to him by Dr. Verwoerd will not work.

How Mr. Vorster will handle this situation will be the next interesting phase in the adventures of the Nationalist Party along the long and bumpy road to apartheid.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

NEWS CHECK
27/1/67
1970

PARTIES WITHOUT PURPOSE

BY eight in the morning it looked as if the day was going to be a complete washout. By ten, it was raining —most unseasonably — in Capetown, and around eleven o'clock social page reporters tried hard to persuade any even slightly presentable female in the small huddle near parliament building to have her photograph taken. By the time a smiling President Charles Swart and Mrs Swart drew up to parliament, typists and clerks were sparsely lining Parliament Street. Police however had laid on arrangements massive enough to deal with a street rally. "*God, man,*" exclaimed one messenger of the House of Assembly, "there are more police around here than Members." For the opening of the second session of parliament the police were taking no chances.

Opening move. At the start of proceedings in the House of Assembly a beaming Blaar Coetzee walked over to greet Helen Suzman. Prime Minister John Vorster, facing his first full session as Southafrica's leader, sat poker-faced on the front bench. The forty members of the opposition looked grim-faced in contrast to the jovial packed benches of the Nationalist Party, where the 126 MPs included the large group of new Members intent on observing due decorum. Then, as Sir de Villiers Graaff rose and proposed his motion of no confidence due to the "evidence of ineptitude and incompetence" of the government in their handling of the country's economy, the government benches erupted in gales of laughter, and the opposition members giggled resignedly. The party fight was beginning again, with the United Party placing emphasis on the bread-and-butter issues. The choice was significant: the UP had caucused as usual just before the opening, had come up with a "strategy" and were placing their hopes, in their customary overly pragmatic fashion, on the appeal to Southafricans at large of fighting inflation. For the new Prime Minister, more pressing problems of foreign relations and party support looked like being his overriding concern. For the Progressive Party's Helen Suzman, there lay ahead another session where she would be fighting several bills, she said, "tooth and nail" ("*tand en mond*, that's how they put it, isn't it?").

For the country's parliamentary parties, the approaching session showed little sign of producing creative policy-making. After 18 years of NP government and 18 years of opposition confusion and split, Southafrica's political parties have reached a stage where they have become comfortable vehicles of sectional opinion. They have become parties defined more by demography, by the language groups they represent, than by policy. They are parties with no purpose beyond serving the groups that support them, and in this climate Southafrica is patently the loser. Firstly the National Party:

The party of power

ALL three parties at this time have boxed themselves in by virtue of their hold on their supporters, because at last saturation point seems to have arrived where language dictates who votes for what. The NP is most fortunate; it has grabbed the lion's share of the electorate because it was and still is the party of Afrikanerdom, and has literally encased itself in power. Never before has Southafrican party politics seemed so inflexible; it has only been in the last ten or so years that the NP saw endless vistas of power opening up to it because there was no reason why Afrikanerdom should not simply go on voting it into power time after time. And because it is the party with the most dedicated politicians, and because Afrikaners still feel that political power is the one counterweight they have to English Southafrica's economic superiority, the NP's first appeal is still to Afrikanerdom. That must always be kept firm behind the Party.

Politics of power. In the early days the NP was not Afrikanerdom's party exclusively, but a party of purpose, putting out more creative policy ideas than any of the opposition groups. But in the Sixties the NP has come to wear around it the decided smugness of power. Debate over policy has never ceased within the NP, but it has been a private debate, with outsiders not wanted. "The one thing that would sink the Nationalist Party would be if thousands of English Southafricans joined it", said one firm Nationalist last week. Disagreement the NP has in considerable measure, but it is a family disagreement. Afrikaner intellectuals who wax indignant when an outsider attacks the NP will furiously attack the party among themselves. Particularly is this so of Afrikanerdom's left-wing, which can at times be unbearably unctuous about the morality of their position while still retaining the comfortable sense of being close to power. The result is that the NP cuts itself off from any real opening to non-Afrikaans Southafrica, despite its avowed intention of creating a united nation out of the

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

country's two main white groups.

Useful at divisions. The smugness of power reaches out at all levels. Hardly any other country that practises a two-party system is less demanding about its parliamentary personnel. With one or two exceptions, the new recruits into the NP in the House of Assembly have done nothing to dispel the suspicion that they make up one of the dullest back-benches to be found anywhere.

Service to the Party has opened the gates to politicians who make the trade unionist hacks of Britain's Labour Party look like brilliant debating stars. The NP dominance in the House on one level means that it has over a hundred attractive, well-paid jobs open for men who will put in enough time making enough friends in a particular constituency. (Southafrica's MPs are well-treated by any standard: in addition to a taxable salary of R4,000 a year, they have a non-taxable allowance of R11 a day during a session and R4.50 a day when parliament is not sitting. In addition, there are the travel concessions.)

Getting together. The strength of Afrikanerdom and the strength of its party, the NP, has been in its idea of an independent nation in Africa, standing on its feet and refusing psychological dependence on anything but its existence as a nation. Over the past six years it has been that toughness that pulled Southafrica over the hump: but now the economy's strength is threatening the roots of NP policy. "It is no longer the politicians that count, but the economy," says one leading Afrikaner businessman. The NP is unable to go against this trend, since its own supporters want a better economic life as much as do its opponents. And it has been the rising tide of the economy which has in no small measure contributed to the stability of all Southafrica's racial groups. Doubtless this has contributed to the rather passionless NP of today.

On the economic level English and Afrikaner have increasingly found common ground. For this reason immigration is likely to continue as strongly as before the present outcry about it: and announcements like that contained last week in the new government Economic Development Plan, calling for more trained non-white labour, are likely to become more, not less, frequent. Thus has economics got the better of policy.

Voice of conscience. So long as the NP looks first to Afrikanerdom and not to national purpose will leadership continually be attempting to straddle left and right. Unable and unwilling to run counter to economic considerations, the NP must yet face the minority of voices casting doubt on where the Party is going. "Jaap Marais is not the Nationalist Party," snapped one NP supporter last week, but such men as Marais are still part of the Party's ethos from the days when Afrikanerdom was predominantly rural. For some within the NP—and others without, like the vociferous if impotent Republicans and the truculent elements of the Mine Workers' Union—economic advance is the thin edge of the wedge that is leading Afrikanerdom away from its true purpose. But precisely what purpose the NP should maintain before itself depends on the changing circumstances of its supporters. So far unity and political victory have dictated the actions of its leaders, but the pursuit of power is no substitute for purposeful national direction that makes for an adaptable political party.

The party of pragmatism

IF the NP is the party of power, then the UP is the party of those who do not really need power, and often show signs of not really wanting power. It is an Afrikaner-led Party with English Southafrican supporters and English Southafrican policies — which is to say that the United Party is a party without policy. For the only policy that English Southafrica takes to heart is that of the free enterprise economy.

In its composition the UP is one of the most complex of political institutions. Its roots are conservative, founded not on the challenge of the present but the traditions of English Southafrica that often seem the slowest things to change in the whole country. Its most ardent supporters are those middle-aged English Southafricans who fought in WWII under the UP aegis. Its attraction to the young among the urban UP strongholds is minimal, it has considerable difficulty in mustering enough party activists at election time to come near to matching the efforts of the still formidable NP electoral machine. Yet in its diminution the UP has found its strength: the solid core of English Southafrica. Its hold on this group seemingly guarantees it parliamentary representation there for the asking. And among its ranks on the platteland it can count those Southafricans who move with perhaps the most facility between English and Afrikaans societies. For all that, it has lost its contact with the Hertzog principle of equal shares for English and Afrikaans just as surely as the NP has found itself able to get along very well without English Southafrica's active participation in the Party.

On the same tack. Over the past few months a trickle of evidence leaked out that the UP, prodded seemingly by such political professionals as Marais Steyn and Japie Basson, was seeking to refurbish its policy in order to be able to present a simple, clear-cut alter-

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

168

native to the government. As this year's session opened, however, it was evident that the UP's fatal flaw — an inability to think cohesively and forcefully — had won out. The UP had decided to play it safe and attack the government on the economic issue. "Absolutely no contentious issues," commented Marais Steyn blandly about the Party's caucus meeting last week. Plainly the UP was happy to shelve its search for a policy in the perceptive realisation that the government could be attacked for maladministration.

Opportunity knocks. The UP's misplaced sense of pragmatism — misplaced in the sense that it has shown no electoral successes — is a fair reflection of the Party's entrapment in the demographic basis of modern Southafrican politics, a basis that neither major party seems inclined to break out of. But as the heir to the Party that did once run a collaboration between Afrikaans and English, the UP retains some vestiges of a broader Southafricanism. Its exclusivism is not at all voluntary, but forced on it by bad leadership and an electorate that is not quite sure what it is getting when it votes UP. So often has the UP transparently made a play for what it fondly imagines is the conservative soul of Afrikanerdom — while safe in the knowledge that the mildly liberal housewife in the urban centres is going to vote for it anyway —that the UP's image of opportunism is pretty well deserved. Possibly nothing has hurt the UP so much as [illegible] ence of safe seats that it has hardly had to fight for. Not having had to fight for these seats has meant that the Party has not had to thrash out a policy acceptable to wider support and attractive to the electorate as a whole.

Micawberism. Unable to fire the electorate with its shifting policies, the UP has not been able to woo the brighter English Southafrican either — like the NP, the UPs personnel has not lately shown itself capable of producing the type of leadership that should now be moving up into the rungs of power just below the top. Not one UP MP of the later recruits has shone over-much in parliament or the country at large. At present too the Party is top-heavy with farmers — nearly one-third in a party whose strength is in the urban and suburban fastnesses of English Southafrica. Business holds some of Southafrica's best minds, but the UP has not been able to mobilise them on any scale, least of all as MPs.

An admittedly biased Helen Suzman maintains that the parliamentary UP keeps itself going with hopes of a split in the NP ranks — for the day of a second Fusion, when the NP will neatly peel into left and right. It was with some glee that UP MPs watched the short scuffle [illegible] year over the "Hertzog group" [illegible] only [illegible] Etienne [illegible] benches with [illegible] going as much to heal any breach in the NP as any Nationalist peacemaker could. As far as it is true that the UP waits hopefully on a Nat split, so much does it show itself politically inept, true to its pragmatic wait-and-see self. And for so long will the country wait for a major party to live up to its proper role.

The party of English anguish

THE time is long past when the Progressive Party stormed the urban citadels of the UP with high hopes that it was the new major party, the real alternative government. Since the highwater mark of 1961, PP fortunes have waned relentlessly, with one exception. That exception has been Houghton MP Helen Suzman, a schoolmistressy politician with a telling gift for the throwaway line. But in the long run Helen Suzman's lonely political survival has been something of a calamity for the Progs. Transfixed by what "Helen" was doing for them in parliament, the Progs have not formulated a level-headed approach to political power, much less to the problem of how to sell a policy that is unpopular with about 95% of the electorate. In a curious act of political emasculation, the PP has more or less thrown up its hands and taken refuge in a form of economic determinism. "History," they repeat ad nauseam, "is on our side." Sharing something of the moral unctuousness of their counterparts in the NP, the Progs have come near to capturing a corner on political idealism among English Southafrica. But it is an idealism so pure that it is untainted by the faintest whiff of power.

Party or protest? No party is quite so confined in the range of supporters it can call upon. The PP's successes and near-successes have all been among those upper-class people of whom the NP says scornfully: "*Hulle is die mense wat hul apartheid kan koop.*" "The better educated people." Laurie Gandar of the *Rand Daily Mail* prefers to call them, but the pattern remains the same. It can be retorted that a party's supporters do not invalidate a party's policies; but in the PP's case the glaring lack of supporters certainly does. Part of the PP's continuing political impotence lies in its inability to decide what its true role is while waiting for what Progs consider is the inevitable tide to turn their own way. So far the PP has shown its surest touch as a party of civil liberties, or restricted state power. A

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

valuable function in itself, it is not however the alternative to a national policy at the polls. With integration, except on the economic level, so far not a starter, the PP's continual watchdogging presence is a reminder of a valuable part of English Southafrica's values.

Clean hands. In the long run, however, the Progs have shown that they would far rather succour their often

glib sense of morality than get in and fight for power. Much of what holds true for the UP holds equally good for the PP. The followers of the PP do not need power for themselves as long as the basic structure of the country remains solidly based on economic advance. Given economic well-being, the Progs can paradoxically indulge to the full their penchant for calling down doom upon the head of prejudiced Southafricans. The danger is that the unreality of the debate conducted by English Southafricans will be swallowed as the truth. The oversimplified picture of world opinion presented by liberal Southafricans can be a persuasive one. But it is simply not realistic to imagine that all that is needed is goodwill between races to solve Southafrican problems.

Voters missing. Possibly most self-destructive for the PP has been its inability to escape the dilemma posed by its over-dependence on "what the outside world thinks about Southafrica". "Of course we are patriotic," exclaimed Helen Suzman last week, "it's just that we don't see any reason why we should accept the government's definition of patriotism." But the PP's patriotic image is a decidedly cerebral one. PP leader Jan Steytler, for instance, has condemned the use of sanctions on the ground that they are not practical and that a realistic solution must come from within Southafrica. They are negative reasons, and the other parties, with their positive hands-off stance, score heavily. Again, over Rhodesia, the PP was unable to come to terms with the reality of Rhodesian self-determination, and under a multi-racial policy at that. There is nothing quite so unctuous as a Prog sniffing at the mention of the name Smith. Electorally almost discountable, with a leader outside parliament and a party machine that has never got off the ground, the PP is one MP from oblivion. Good intentions do not make a political party.

IN this time of demographic parties reflecting all too faithfully the susceptibilities of their own neatly demarcated groups, Southafrica's politicians have it made as never before. The electoral fat of the two main parties cushions the obvious lack of talent, and an advancing economy does the work of providing incentive. At the same time, an uneasy position in the broader world can do no more than create a false sense of crisis. The NP will stolidly affirm its careful foreign policy, and the UP's "bi-partisanship" will allow it to feel as close to power as it ever seems to get. (Although as one NP MP said smugly last week: "Hell, you can't expect the government to run to the opposition every time something crops up".)

In the meantime, the demographic plush bottom of the two main parties removes the pressing need to compete on a policy level, to continually rethink old policies. Coalition, the recurrent kite that is floated every time the Nationalist Party finds itself agreeing with the United Party or vice versa, is as dead as it ever was, killed by the static air of the current party position. Neither main party seems to worry over potential leadership for the next decade or so, though the increasing disinterest among the youth might create some passing anxiety. For the moment the fundamental argument over the direction of Southafrican policy has disappeared. Even the UP seems to be groping about for some face-saving device whereby it might gracefully accept the fact, if not the theory, of Bantustans. Cosy coteries, the country's political parties are entrenching themselves with an uncharacteristic complacency.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

OPTIMA 166
Dec 1966

Vorster and the future of nationalist policy

OTTO KRAUSE

TO AFRIKANERS, the eight years of Hendrik Verwoerd's premiership stand out as years on the summit, a time of achievement, a time when two long-sought goals were realized. These goals originated in the Afrikaner's deep sense of his earlier history, and by Verwoerd's accession to power they had gained even the quality of tradition. The first was a republic for South Africa, a symbolical act to put to rights the Afrikaner's 150-year-old struggle against imperial Britain; the second was a feasible way in which Afrikaner nationhood could be affirmed and finally defined in relation to black Africa. It may seem strange that two such formative aims should be realized so late in a nation's course, in fact over 300 years after the nation began, but it is the irony of the Afrikaner's history that, like the Jews, his sensed nationhood was rarely at one with statehood. Verwoerd's achievement was therefore like Ben-Gurion's: he brought nation and state closer together.

Verwoerd's renown rests as much on what he achieved as on how he achieved it. He brought about the Republic over an urgent period of 18 months, a period perhaps as traumatic as any in South African history; yet he gained it with dignity. From being read out of Western society by Harold Macmillan, through Sharpeville and the first attempt on his life, through a close-run referendum and the ultimate withdrawal from the Commonwealth, Verwoerd displayed a resolution and calm which notched his mark as a statesman. In regard to the second goal, Verwoerd achieved more than all his predecessors together: with toughness and deliberation he persuaded Afrikaners to live up to their protestations of future rectitude *now*, to accept a system of separate states for black and white through which a political equity between the races could be attained. This, he drove home, was the price for maintaining nationhood; and against the beguilements of *baasskap**, his leadership in this field was an achievement of magnitude. Though Verwoerd lived to implement only the beginnings of this framework, he established a political system which has all the signs of permanence, a system which has developed a momentum of its own.

But it was not for Afrikaners alone that Verwoerd's régime was meaningful; for all the country's peoples he can be said to have laid the groundwork for one

* domination

Opposite:
A peaceful scene at an African kraal in Mocambique. The trees in left foreground and at right are cashew nut trees which represent a potential source of income. An article on the cashew nut industry appears on page 2[illegible].

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

or other kind of new deal. To most English-speaking South Africans he brought the opportunity to come to terms with what they had long ago chosen, and thus to gain a new direction. And here he was the great conciliator, his approach, ironically, harking back to that of another Afrikaner who presided over constitutional change, Louis Botha. Against the turbulence in black Africa and increasing pressures from overseas, Verwoerd seemed to stand as a shield to South Africa, and in such circumstances his kind of republic necessarily signalled to many that the bitterness had to stop.

Many Africans clearly shared white South Africa's feelings of revulsion and dismay at Verwoerd's assassination; but for them the full meaning of his premiership must still unfold. While this stewardship was a time of strict measures and the frustration of wilder African schemes, it was nonetheless a time of expanding education, widening job opportunities and rising income for Africans: in sharing Verwoerd's boom they began to taste the future. For them the evolving Transkei state also stands under the sign of Verwoerd—a centre of power perhaps distant, yet in its way meaningful.

Out of such and other actions, Verwoerd constructed the basis for a new kind of South Africa. And he was as much the father as the child of change. He came to leadership at the end of a long twilight of colonialism in Africa, in an era when black people throughout the continent were stirring with new awarenesses, at a time when Afrikaners were beginning to act less as though they were still getting into power and more as though they were in power. Of all these factors Verwoerd took shrewd cognisance; moreover, he did something about them. Standing at the hinge of different times, he opened doors.

Yet of all the changes with which Verwoerd so forcefully coped, perhaps the most significant for South African politics had only begun to emerge during his tenure of office. This is the increasingly evident shift in the political outlook of his own Afrikaner people. If anything, the new terms which Verwoerd gave to South African politics accelerated this change; and it was a curious twist of history that he should die at a time when the change among Afrikaners was gaining greater apparency. Though still largely a matter of internal debate among Afrikaners, the differences arising from the shift in outlook are real enough, and clashes displaying them have come into the open. But the two stances are yet far from being crystalized by their adherents, still less has there been a clear-cut sorting out of loyalties. Nor need there be. After all, the seeds of such differences have been with Afrikaners for many years, and they have managed to live with them. Moreover, Afrikaner unity remains the dominant persuasion, and it has risen above the bare political necessities of earlier times to gain a value in itself. By now Afrikaner unity is seen as a good in its own right, something axiomatic—anything else is well-nigh unthinkable. The shifts in Afrikaner outlook, therefore, do not signify any important division to come, but they indicate something which is likely to be of far greater weight in politics—that the *idea content* of Afrikaner unit may change.

The symptoms of Afrikaner differences which South Africa has seen over the past months may thus be of lesser relevance to party politics than many feel; but they do offer a guide to deeper changes. And if one is to look ahead to the premiership of John Vorster, any predictability as to the course of Afrikanerdom under him must needs be based on an examination of these changes and the force behind them. The other vital element in this chemistry is the kind of lead the prime minister will give, for such is the influence of the office. Yet already in his first few months as premier, Vorster has demonstrated a new and broader method of leadership which appears well equipped to deal with the strains of change. Vorster has employed the touchstones of moderation and flexibility, and at the same time reflected a burgeoning Afrikaner confidence. This speaks meaningfully, for it speaks of a rejuvenation of Afrikanerdom.

The path that lies ahead for Afrikanerdom is thus likely to be guided by an interaction of Vorster and a changing society. In turn there will be a further interaction with the other peoples of southern Africa and the outside world. Most important for assessing the future, however, are the changes within Afrikanerdom, for reasons of its power position, and because they tell of the development of southern Africa's most thrusting people. But before analysing these changes, I would like to examine another matter which touches the very nature of Afrikanerdom: in fact to question a long-established doctrine.

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RACE AND RACIALISM

For many years it has been widely believed that all Afrikaner political thinking—and by extension all South African politics—is determined by questions of race. In short, black versus white is seen at the root of every doctrine, policy or attitude; race is supposed to transcend every issue, to be the biggest vote-getter of all. This analysis has had the most respectable intellectual support, and it has the quality of an instant insight—the facts seem to speak so clearly. Yet I cannot help feeling that the analysis is too beguiling, for some nagging questions remain. Why, for instance, do South Africans vote so strictly according to the language they speak? Is this mere coincidence? Why, too, does Afrikanerdom follow its particular race policy? If politics were primarily a matter of race, there are other less difficult policies to pursue. Maybe the doctrine of the primacy of race should at best be seen as only a half-truth. At times it seems a political myth, a belief which by its very propagation has gained an element of reality, and as such is very difficult to challenge. Yet I think it should be re-examined, however unfashionable that may be, because I believe it has side-tracked South African politics for nearly 20 years and caused a sterility in our national debate. Worse, it has taken in its own proponents.

A member of parliament tells the story of a bench-mate he once had, a member who attended parliament very rarely. Occasionally he would come into the House and ask his colleague: "What are they talking about?" Invariably he had to answer: "*Kaffers*!" His bench-mate would sigh, take a quick look around the House and walk out. So it would seem that South African politics in general is an endless discussion about race. But it is good to look beyond the racial terms in which South African politics appear solely to speak; there are other tenets, less articulated and more intuitively felt.

One must also recognize that the belief that race overrides all issues is comparatively recent in our politics. Although General Hertzog brought racial issues forward with his cry of "swart gevaar" (black menace) in the 1929 general election, they nevertheless remained a secondary matter. In the pre-war years South Africans were willing enough to admit that their politics turned around the major question

Boer [illegible] years it has become [illegible] English *versus* Afrikaans openly—the chant of "you're only stoking up hatred" has had its effect. No matter that this was the way South Africa voted, and still votes, as anyone who has done *huisbesoek** knows only too well. Yet pounded racial issues has had its advantages. For Nationalist politicians it served as an extra appeal through which United Party Afrikaners could be brought back into the fold. To opposition politicians as well, especially in later years, emphasis on race policy *seemed* to hold an advantage: this was how Afrikaners could be won. But in the end they become the doctrine's victim. The Nationalist Party was not so naive: it knew, and its supporters knew, what politics was really about.

English-speaking South Africa's insight that race lay at the heart of things is essentially a post-war belief. And the blame for their coming to this wrong conclusion must perhaps be laid at the door of the liberals. Sharing the West's new-found sensitivity to race, the liberals analysed South African politics anew and came up with the self-evident answer. They furthermore urgently hoped that South Africa would overcome its problems of race by facing up to them *as* problems of race. (That South Africa would best overcome them by *not* seeing them as problems of race did not occur to them.) And, after all, Afrikaners themselves had helped to establish the impression that race counted above everything else: nothing could stop the belief after the Nationalists won the 1948 election, apparently on the platform of *apartheid*.** But *apartheid* was only the crutch which a battered National Party used to come into office. The truth is that in those days the South African electorate was not primarily engaged in questions of white and black. English South Africa was still fighting to retain its share of political power; and Afrikaners had embarked on a far-reaching renascence, a new upwelling of Afrikaner awareness. This had been born of the cultural renewal of the 'thirties, of the new drive which urbanization had implanted in them, and from the realization that through unity, power could be gained. For the first time in this century an all-Afrikaner government seemed possible. And guiding all was the ancient

* Literally "house-visit"; political canvassing.

** separateness

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Afrikaner desire to establish nationhood in Africa. We can now see that this desire truly dominated all facets of Afrikaner policy. Under these circumstances race has borne only an indirect relation to what Afrikaners were striving for. Nationalism has defined policies on race, not *vice versa*.

So, too, have politics continued over the years since 1948. And the result has been that for nearly two decades the leaders of English South Africa have avoided coming to terms with the new nationhood in their midst, to English South Africa's detriment. As the illusory lesson of the National Party's triumphs with race policy sank in, so did the United Party seek race policy after race policy in a way which bore no reality to the way people voted. Meanwhile the Nationalist Party went blandly forward, fostering a concept of nationhood which by its very success counted more and more at the polls.

Any attempt to understand Nationalist racial policy must, therefore, proceed from this concept of nationhood as the vital first premise. Race itself is merely the second consideration. Thus it is clear that in the early post-war years, when the Nationalist Party was far more concerned to establish Afrikaner nationalism as against English South Africa and its ideas of a broad South Africanism, Afrikaners were even vague about their race policy. In those times their racial thinking was perhaps more a vehement reflection of public feeling than any concrete policy. Early National Party racial platforms are in fact best characterised as a *search* for a policy to fit the needs of an Afrikaner nation. And so the Nationalist Party duly meandered through its phases of *apartheid*, *baasskap*, and separate development. Behind this lay a long and important internal debate, conducted against a background of the rising tide of black nationalism; but its final result was inevitable: if Afrikaner nationhood were to survive on a long-term basis, then there had to be a system of separate, independent, states in South Africa.

Out of this conclusion that Afrikaners arrived at, arises another more general point: if the essence of Afrikaner thinking were racialist, hence propounding the superiority of white and the inferiority of black, then it surely would not have decided on a policy of creating equal black states, by means of which black people would in every respect be seen as equal to white people. If Afrikaners were truly racialist, their domination of blacks by whites—dressed up suitably for acceptance at home and/or abroad—would have been their course.

This re-examination of what beliefs finally dominate South African politics does not attempt to conclude that race has no meaning at all; as I stated earlier, the doctrine of the supremacy of race is perhaps at most a half truth. And its element of truth is, of course, that the boundaries of race coincide with the limits of nationhood. Yet, in another sense, this is no more meaningful than the fact that the respective limits of Indian and Italian nationhood coincide with race. This does not make racialists out of Italians in their relationships with Indians. The axiom is surely: single states with more than one race breed racialism. And as South Africa moves more and more into a framework of separate states, so it must follow that race will become increasingly irrelevant.

A COUNTRY OF SEPARATE NATIONS

It is, then, the concept of a South Africa of separate nations which is the hope of as well as the key to our politics. And whereas this thesis has hitherto been a theoretical matter for South African politics, this year it has suddenly become a reality: two months ago the British government presented two fully-fledged new nations to South Africa; and besides Lesotho and Botswana, a third, Swaziland, is to be added in two or three years' time.

Overnight, all the arguments which white South Africans have conducted among themselves over the past 18 years seem largely academic, even beside the point. South Africa is now faced with instant Bantustans, a reality of black and white nations, and with that the country's politics are beginning to walk through the looking glass . . .

The new situation is far-reaching in its effect. For it is not even so much that a South Africa of separate nations has to be accepted, but that the power relations between black and white have changed for the first time in a hundred years. Though poor and weak, economically and militarily, South Africa's two new nations are nonetheless endowed with the kind of power which counts in a closely-knit, aggression-conscious world political power. And this means that even the most progressive proponent of One South Africa and the most

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

baasskap-minded Afrikaner must live with bla[illegible]th). [illegible] the strictly a matter of left and nations in the body of the country. Pan-African ideas about the unity of South Africa's black people must also adapt themselves to a permanent fragmentation of African power.

The arrival of Botswana and Lesotho as centres of power, moreover, means that from now on Pretoria's own policies of separate development must gather momentum. To keep pace, the development of full Transkeian statehood will have to be speeded up; more Transkeis will need to follow. For white South Africa must come increasingly to the conclusion that it is best to have all white/black relations on the same nation to nation basis. Most important, South African politics have thereby gained a new logic. Living together with blacks as before, most white South Africans could not support rapid African advance—this, they felt, would merely increase the threat. Now, with a system of separate political entities which in turn buttresses their own territorial integrity, whites can see the threat diminishing, and so it becomes a matter of white South African self-interest to aid the advance of their black neighbours—because advancing neighbours make good neighbours. The Afrikaner industrialist, Dr. Anton Rupert, put it succinctly: "If they don't eat, we don't sleep."

For so nation-conscious a people as Afrikaners, to have patriotic duty so turned about is truly walking through the looking-glass. Yet Afrikaners have been prepared for this, by the basis which Verwoerd constructed for South Africa; and it is directly in line with their best attitudes about nationhood and black/white relations conducted on a nation to nation basis. But this does not mean all Afrikaners.

PATTERN OF DIVISION

It is exactly at this point that differences in current Afrikaner thinking begin to have meaning.

There is a fairly clear pattern of division among Afrikaners in their attitudes to the challenges which now face their nation; but it is not a pattern which follows any traditional grouping of either Afrikaners or other Western nations. Thus the lines of difference will not be found in a strict division between the Cape and the Transvaal (nowadays the Cape attitude of mind is found nearly as much in the north, the Transvaal attitude of mind nearly as much in the right (only the *S.A. Observer** sees things this way; among themselves, Afrikaners rarely apply the terms to themselves—the idea of left and right remains largely foreign to them, as once it was to Americans). Nor are the differences strictly a matter of conservative or liberal (some "liberals" will be found to be immensely "conservative" about particular aspects of public policy, and *vice versa*—thus certain leaders of the Gereformeerde Kerk, usually seen as the most conservative of the three Afrikaans churches, are very enlightened about race relations). The fact is that Afrikaner differences have no particular doctrinal basis. Afrikaners' approach to politics is generally far more pragmatic than most Westerners' (which partly accounts for much confusion about Afrikaner attitudes), and hence the question of how Afrikanerdom should proceed in the new circumstances turns far more around questions of timing, the possibilities, persuasion, the appraisal of self-interest and the grasping of opportunities. Few Afrikaners would tackle a political problem in a set way because it is, for instance, "the conservative way": issues are evaluated on their merits. This pragmatism is perhaps Afrikanerdom's most valuable possession in its circumstances; and possibly the greatest pragmatist of them all was Verwoerd, who had the further advantage of never seeming to be one.

URBANIZATION

Perhaps the best way, then, of summing up Afrikaner differences is to see an inward-looking group and an outward-looking group—remembering that both groups look with equal determination to the preservation of the Afrikaner nation. And why Afrikaners should differ on these lines is to be found in the economic and social changes which have come to them at an accelerating pace over the past 30 years.

As in most Western societies over the last hundred years, so there has been among Afrikaners a modernizing trend, away from parochialism, religious fundamentalism and traditional values to a broader outlook. This has occurred against a background of industrialization, urbanization and the rise of science and technology, and their meaning has had as much weight for Afrikaners as for others.

* An extremist Nationalist journal.

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

It has, however, long been the custom to attribute the shaping of Afrikaner attitudes to the big historical events, particularly to the Anglo-Boer War. This is only partly true. If one considers the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the pattern it has followed, one finds that, although the war and the broad sweep of South African history did forge the basic idea of Afrikaner nationhood, it was industrialization and urbanization that gave nationalism its urgency and its head of steam. It was the attribute of the National Party that already in its early years it became the party of the newly urbanized Afrikaner. It fought his battle. In much the same way as the Democratic Party of New York looked after the interests of the lowly immigrant and so won his loyalty, so too did the National Party stand for the Afrikaner immigrant to South Africa's cities. In his parlous circumstances, near the bottom of the social ladder, the Nationalist Party spoke his thoughts, represented his radicalism. Mostly importantly, the National Party also stood against his bosses. Meanwhile, the National Party —again like the U.S.'s Democratic Party—was still able to maintain its agrarian support; all stood under the umbrella of Afrikaner nationalism. As in America, the in-gathering of rural conservatives and urban radicals was a winning combination—with the urban men supplying a constant thrust.

Unlike rural society, urban society is a matter of continuing change. In it, people rise in their scale of living; and in South African cities the once-proletarian Afrikaner has risen most, for his place as worker has gradually been taken by the black man. So, among the Afrikaners who came to the cities the sons of labourers have become skilled men, the sons of skilled men professional men, the sons of professional men businessmen. And along with their rise in the economic and social scale their self-confidence has risen. Moreover—and most significantly in a party political sense—because of the National Party's successful in-gathering of nearly all Afrikaners, this individual rise in self-confidence has become an Afrikaner self-confidence. And so one comes to the basis of the new Afrikaner groupings: among the self-confident Afrikaners the outward-looking Afrikaners are to be found; and among those who have not yet risen so far and those who have remained amid a rural traditionalism the inward-looking Afrikaners will be found.

In summing up their country, the inward-looking Afrikaners feel that the old rural Afrikaner values suffice; this is so not only among *plattelanders* (country people) but among some city-dwellers—the first generation in town has tended, if anything, to exaggerate the rural values. These people feel that Afrikanerdom will remain strong if it maintains the pristine virtues, if it looks to its self-improvement. They look as well to the church and its steadying, conservative influence. They have no need to look beyond South Africa's borders, to the new states arising around it, or for that matter to the West. A kindly paternalism is the hallmark of their attitudes to Africans. But from these people in recent years a new radicalism has tended to spring. It has come to those few inward-looking Afrikaners who are frustrated by the new shape of South African society, who are disappointed by Afrikaner *afvalligheid**, who resent the rise of the black man, economically as well as in the new states. And it is with this group within a group that the outward-looking Afrikaners have recently clashed. For these new conservative radicals would make a virtue of the Afrikaner's historic enmity towards the black peoples of South Africa and turn it into rank racialism. Even the paternalism of most inward-looking Afrikaners is not enough for them: *baasskap* is their word. They, too, find a parallel in American politics. It was after all a similar tradition of rural-based radical populism which had its last fling in the McCarthyism of the Mid-West. Such Afrikaners also find solace in a seeking out of enemies, in vehemently opposing communism. They would as well, for their own purposes, like to forge a new form of the old alliance between rural conservatives and urban workers. But they are too late for this.

THE NEW BOURGEOISIE

Today it is the new bourgeoisie, the outward-looking Afrikaners who predominate. And the numbers of this new class are constantly being fed as Afrikaners rise in life. Spreading suburbia in its constituency, and its attitudes, must more and more influence all Afrikanerdom. (Unfortunately for the radical conservatives, the new proletariat which should be their natural ally, is black.) On the other

* Defection from the traditions of early, mainly rural, Afrikaner ideals.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

160

hand, temporary setbacks to the country's pace of growth—and hence the growth of Afrikanerdom—could temporarily strengthen the radical conservative faction; and it is an element which thrives on pessimism. But the trend is away from them, for as against them the outward-looking Afrikaners have a magic touchstone: opportunity. They see the opportunities of Afrikanerdom in the broadest terms—a people becoming abler, wealthier, better educated, a people with great and realizable ambitions. Moreover, they see opportunity in co-operation. Feeling equal to English South Africa and yet remaining staunch in their own Afrikanerness, they seek to gain by co-operating with English South Africans in business and other fields. They look as well to co-operation with other peoples, with black peoples. Perhaps the outward-looking Afrikaners' best parallel is found in the thrusting middle classes of Victorian England; their leaders see South Africa trading with the world, moving out into it, and regaining its position in the world. And to them it is and has been important that South Africa's political basis should not be ultimately racialist, and they have felt this intuitively: for racialism for the sake of racialism would, paradoxically, hinder Afrikanerdom's growth. The other possibility, of white South Africa living together with black people on a nation to nation basis, offers opportunities—it opens doors. Not only does it open the door to a much-needed political settlement between white and black in the country, but it opens the door to Africa. And in economic terms, in the long run, this is perhaps the most important door.

South Africa as a whole, has long been inward-looking. Harried by the Afro-Asians in their new drive and decried by the West in a transposition of conscience, South Africa has come to see itself as a pariah. But this has had a ironic benefit, for at the same time South Africa has examined itself closely, put much thought into how it should live with its problem of race. And as the boom of the Afrikaner's putting nationhood above everything else, South Africa has come up with an answer which at least has the result of treating race in a non-racialist way. For out of an outward-looking Afrikanerdom can come an outward-looking South Africa.

John Vorster has shown that this will be his likely path. While he has taken up an uncompromising attitude on the maintenance of South Africa's security and at the same time stated that the Republic will pay no attention to the United Nations' recent decision on South West Africa—a befitting stand for any South African Prime Minister—Vorster has nonetheless taken care to keep the doors open. He has kept the Republic within the United Nations (despite great provocation), and reiterated Verwoerd's offer of aid to black Africa. Last month he continued the outward-looking trend even more significantly: speaking in Pretoria he declared that he wanted to work with heads of state as heads of state, and that in such matters the question of colour would be coincidental.

In Afrikanerdom's own terms of nationhood, race will become increasingly coincidental, and as South Africa follows this course, it must move towards a breakthrough.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

159

59

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY
PRETORIA

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANBERRA
7 DEC 1966
File No. 201/2/2/1
NOM. INDEX SUB. INDEX

In reply quote No. 202/2/1

Memorandum No. 616

26th November, 1966.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

SOUTH AFRICA : THE NATIONAL PARTY

.... You may be interested in the attached survey of maneouvres by leading personalities within the National Party, as seen by the political correspondent of the 'Rand Daily Mail', who is usually reliable and well informed.

OSURES ATTACHED

(W. Mayne-Wilson)
Second Secretary

wmw/mjm

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RAND DAILY MAIL 19/11/66

158

JUGGLING IN THE NAT PARTY HIERARCHY

By GEORGE OLIVER
Political Correspondent

THE stirrings within the National Party that started with the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd in September have not yet ended, but already they have been more far-reaching and significant than any in recent history.

In the party hierarchy comparatively young men have risen suddenly while older men have fallen from considerable heights of power and prestige within a matter of weeks. And in the wings there are still more ambitious younger men waiting for the scenes to shift again.

Whatever state of flux still lies ahead, three men are now firmly ensconced in top positions—men who, only three months ago, might have waited years for such advancement.

First, of course, is the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, who, after his initial jousting with the Minister of Transport, Mr. Schoeman, for the Premiership, has rapidly consolidated himself as the unchallenged leader of the party.

Mr. Vorster's political schooling was hard. He has fought back from being a virtual political outcast to become the dominant man in White South African politics—and he, better than anyone else, knows where his strengths and weaknesses lie.

A good deal of his strength lies in his image as a tough yet efficient administrator, a reputation that he must preserve if his stock is to remain high. Without question, he will do this.

SHREWDNESS

But perhaps his greatest asset is his political shrewdness. It is doubtful whether he would have fought the more senior Mr. Schoeman if his judgment had not told him that the time was right—and the support too.

He also has an asset which is every party politician's dream: an ability to communicate in direct terms with the masses.

On the other hand Mr. Vorster has not had wide experience of party organisation, can hardly be termed a top-flight Nationalist ideologist and does not have a broad background of Cabinet experience.

Mr. P. W. Botha, the new Cape leader and Minister of Defence, who has leapt up to second place in the party hierarchy, serves Mr. Vorster well in several ways. He grew up in the party's Cape organisation, and still has its resources at his command and along with a sound working knowledge of what happens internally in the other provinces.

Thus Mr. Vorster and Mr. Botha make good political bedfellows.

CONGRESS

At the Cape congress of the National Party in East London a fortnight ago, I was taken to task by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. Vosloo, for having written that Mr. Botha's political orientation was far more that of the Transvaal than of the Cape, and particularly the Western Cape. Mr. Vosloo's retort was that there was no such distinction.

At the most charitable, one can perhaps say that Mr. Vosloo is naive if he cannot recognise salient differences between the brand of Nationalism evinced by the Cape newspaper "Die Burger," and, say, that of Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P. for Innesdal and one of the leaders of the troublesome Right-wing clique whose influence over policy now appears to have become substantial.

In a sense, however, Mr. Vosloo unwittingly glanced ahead on behalf of the party in the Cape. With Mr. Botha at the helm, the chances of Cape Nationalism falling completely into line with Transvaal Nationalism — with all its bluntness too—are strong.

A pace or two behind Mr. P. W. Botha lies the other Botha—Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and of Bantu Education. Unlike his namesake, he holds no provincial leadership, yet he has a fistful of trumps.

He is the only senior-league ideologist left to the party since the death of Dr. Verwoerd. He is its sole remaining visionary of separate freedoms, separate states, border industries, Black Prime Ministers and permanent African worker-visitors in Whites-only South Africa-to-be.

As if that were not enough to attach him firmly to the power structure, he seems to have busied himself with the extremist Right-wing clique of the party, bringing to it great respectability and pleading its case before meetings of Rapportryers, who appear to have a preference for hearing its type of views.

Mr. M. C. Botha, then, provides Mr. Vorster with all the ideology he needs, from a position he has created on his own.

For a broad approach to government, Mr. Vorster will have to be content—for the moment, anyway—with some of the members of the Cabinet who know their jobs reasonably well and can still do them, even if they have been hurt by the recent changes.

LOST RACE

First, one must look at the man who lost to Mr. Vorster in the race for the premiership—Mr. Schoeman. He is still the only man on the Government side of Parliament who is capable of handling the Railways with any degree of efficiency, and probably the only man who is prepared to do this anyway.

Earlier this year he was given the Free Stater, Mr. Van Rensburg, as Deputy-Minister, in an obvious move to have at least a stand-in for him if one should be needed. Mr. Van Rensburg is not aligned with any of the identifiable groups within the National Party and is quite a business-like man with a good presence.

But he will need much more blooding in the hurly-burly of South African political life if he is to measure up to Mr. Schoeman as a future Minister of Transport.

Other key men in the Verwoerd administration have slipped in the hierarchy. Dr. Dönges, the former Cape leader — he resigned at this year's Cape congress of the party — and Minister of Finance, is on his way out, politically. He would, I believe, like very much to become the next State President, but at the moment cannot rely on much Transvaal or Free State support.

DE KLERK

Senator De Klerk, Minister of Education, Arts and Science and of Information, is another former lieutenant of Dr. Verwoerd who would prefer the office of Head of State to a place in the shade.

For many of the other members of the Cabinet, the changes have meant little or nothing, even though they might be switched from one portfolio to another when more changes are necessary.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Diederichs, might for instance become Minister of Finance, but would enjoy little enhanced status. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muller, might receive some support in handling his portfolio from the present South African Ambassador in London, Dr. Carel de Wet, if he is brought into the Cabinet.

The two Ministers of Agriculture, and their deputy, Mr. Uys, Mr. Fouche and Mr. Martins, have little in prospect — the Minister of Planning and Mines, Mr. Haak, appears to feel comfortable where he is; the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Le Roux, cannot expect more promotion; the Minister of Labour, Mr. Viljoen, would probably be relieved to be moved to the portfolio of Education, Arts and Science if Senator De Klerk became State President; Mr. Maree, Natal leader and Minister of Community Development, should be content where he is, and the two English-speaking ministers, Senator Trollip (Immigration and Indian Affairs) and Mr. Waring (Tourism, Sport and Forestry) should also be satisfied with their positions, for they are unlikely to go farther.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

157

HERTZOG

Dr. Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and of Health, has not shown himself the most efficient member of the Cabinet. In fact, at the East London congress of the party a top-ranking Cape Nationalist told me almost pleadingly that if the English-language Press would stop attacking him, he would probably fade away quite soon.

Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education is one of the few enigmas in the Cabinet or on its fringe. He is a skilled politician, well able to take a gap, and should be able to take care of himself in most situations involving change.

The new Minister of Justice and Prisons, Mr. Pelser, is obviously a Vorster man who will do Mr. Vorster's bidding in his powerful position, while his deputy, Mr. S. C. Muller, still has to earn his spurs before reaching full Cabinet rank.

(Report by George Oliver, 124 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

UPIX 312
BY NEIL J. SMITH
JOHANNESBURG, OCT. 5 (UPI)--AN OBSCURE FAR RIGHT-WING ANTI-SEMITE IN PRETORIA RECENTLY PITCHED SOUTH AFRICA'S RULING NATIONALIST PARTY INTO ITS BIGGEST INTERNAL ROW IN YEARS, AND LED TO SPECULATION THAT THERE MIGHT BE TURBULENT UNDER-CURRENTS BENEATH THE PARTY'S MONOLITHIC FACADE.
THE MAN WHO SPARKED THE ROW IS MR. S.E. D. BROWN, AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOUTH AFRICAN ABOUT WHOM SO LITTLE IS KNOWN THAT NOT EVEN HIS FIRST NAMES CAN BE ESTABLISHED. ALL THAT IS KNOWN IS THAT HE IS A LONG-TIME FRIEND AND ADMIRER OF THE BRITISH FASCIST LEADER, SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, AND THAT SOME 20 YEARS AGO HE ESPOUSED THE NATIONALIST CAUSE AT A TIME WHEN MANY REGARDED THE PARTY AS STILL TAINTED WITH PRO-NAZI VIEWS. HE WAS APPOINTED A MEMBER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BOARD OF CENSORS AND IN THREE YEARS RECOMMENDED THE BANNING OF 2,091 BOOKS.
(MORE)
C 651P/

UPIX 313
1ST ADD BROWN JOHANNESBURG XXX BOOKS.
THE NATIONALIST PARTY HAS LONG SINCE SHAKEN OFF THE GHOST OF ITS WORLD WAR TWO RECORD, BUT BROWN HAS CONTINUED TO PROPAGATE HIS VIEWS IN A MONTHLY NEWS MAGAZINE CALLED +THE XSOUTH AFRICAN OBSERVER.+ THE MAGAZINE IS ANTI-SEMITIC, ANTI- LIBERAL AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC. IT QUOTES LIBERALLY FROM THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY +AMERICAN OPINION,+ THE BRITISH NEO-NAZI NATIONAL PARTY MAGAZINE +COMBAT+ AND OTHER ORGANS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT.
MORE RECENTLY IT HAS TAKEN TO SMEARING PROMINENT MODERATE NATIONALISTS FOR ALLEGED +LIBERAL DEVIATIONS,+ AND THIS HAS LED INDIERECTLY TO THE PRESENT SQUABBLE.
BROWN'S +DIVIATIONISTS+ READ ALMOST LIKE A WHO'S WHO OF MODERATE NATIONALISM: FINANCE MINISTER DR. EBEN DONGES, TOBACCO KING DR. ANTON RUPERT, LEADING ECONOMIST DR. HENDRIK VAN ECK, FAST-RISING AFRIKAANS MINING MAGNATE MR. TOM MULLER AND EVEN THE EDITOR OF THE TOP-CIRCULATION VERWOERD-OWNED NEWSPAPER, +DAGBROOK,+ MR. DIRK RICHARD. ALL THESE ARE MEN WHO HAVE EITHER CRITICIZED ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY, OR ELSE ARE KNOWN TO MAINTAIN CLOSE, FRIENDLY NON-POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OPPONENTS.
(MORE)
C 657P/

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

UPIX 314 155
2,D ADD BROWN JOHANNESBURG XX OPPONENTS.
THE PRESENT ROW ERUOPTED ON JULY 7, WHEN THE ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE RIGHTWING AFRIKAANS STUDENTS ORGANIZATION, DIE AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND (A.S.B.), PASSED A RESOLUTION PRAISING BROWN'S WORK. THE MOTION WAS INTRODUCED BY TWO PROMINENT TRANSVAAL STUDENTS, FROM THE NORTH OF THE COUNTRY.
IMMEDIATELY AN UPROAR BROKE OUT IN STUDENT CIRCLES. THE CONGRESS WAS BEING HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH, IN THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY. INCENSED STELLENBOSCH STUDENTS POINTED OUT THAT TWO +DEVIATIONISTS+ MOST CONSISTENTLY ATTACKED BY THE +OBSERVER+ HAVE BEEN STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY'S VICE-CHANCELLOR THE REV. J.S. GERICKE AND THEIR RECTOR, PROFESSOR H.B. THOM.
AS SOON AS CLASSES RESUMED AFTER THE JULY MID-YEAR RECESS, THE STUDENTS CALLED A MASS MEETING TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM THE BROWN RESOLUTION.
(MORE)
C 7P/

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

UPIX 319 154

3RD ADD BROWN, JOHANNESBURG (UPIA 312) XX RESOLUTION.

AT THIS STAGE THE AFFAIR TOOK A SURPRISING TURN FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE CRITICISM WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT RANKS IS A RARE PHENOMENON. THE NEWSPAPERS SPEAKING FOR THE SOUTHERN WING OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY LAUNCHED A CONCERTED CAMPAIGN AGAINST BROWN AND ALL HE STOOD FOR, HINTING THAT HE WAS BEING PROPPED UP BY EXTREME RIGHT-WING NATIONALISTS IN THE TRANSVAAL. THEY SUGGESTED THAT, THROUGH BROWN, THESE RIGHT-WINGERS ARE MAKING A TAKEOVER BID FOR THE YOUTH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE CAPE TOWN NEWSPAPER +DIE BURGER+ ACCUSED BROWN OF FOLLOWING +THE METHOD OF ATTACK...OF THE NOTORIOUS AMERICAN SENATOR MCCARTHY: +GUILT BY ASSOCIATION.+ IF YOU ASSOCIATE WITH REAL OR ALLEGED LIBERALS...THEN YOU ARE A LIBERALIST, AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE AND A SELL-OUT.+

A SUNDAY NEWSPAPER, +DIE BEELD,+ OWNED BY THE SAME GROUP, WAS EVEN MORE OUTSPOKEN. ITS EDITOR AND CHIEF POLITICAL COMMENTATOR, MR. SCHALK PIENAAR, SAID AFRIKANERS WERE TOO READY TO ACCEPT DUBIOUS CHARACTERS AS THEIR FRIENDS MERELY BECAUSE THEY PROFESSED ADMIRATION FOR APARTHEID. SOME FOREIGNERS LAUDED IN SOUTH AFRICA AS FRIENDS OF THE NATION, HE SAID, WERE DISCREDITED IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES AS ANTI-JEWISH AND ANTI-NEGRO FANATICS.

BROWN, HE SAID, HAD NO FOLLOWING IN THE ENGLISH-PEAKING COMMUNITY +AND HE MERELY DOES US HARM BECAUSE SO MANY ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE BELIEVE HE IS A NATIONALIST.+

(MORE)

C 719P/

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

UPIX 322
4THPADD BROWN JOHANNESBURG XX NATIONALIST.+
AS PIENAAR MADE HIS COMMENTS A PROMINENT MEMBER OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, WILLIAM FLAX, AN ATTORNEY, WAS TOURING SOUTH AFRICA, APPARENTLY UNDER THE WING OF THE BROWN FACTION, ADDRESSING PRIVATE MEETINGS OF RIGHTIST STUDENTS.

153

WITH THE BROWN QUESTION RAPIDLY ESCALATING INTO A NATIONAL ISSUE, THE AFFAIR TOOK AN EVEN STRANGER TURN. THE MOST RIGHT-WING DAILY IN THE COUNTRY, THE JOHANNESBURG NEWSPAPER +DIE TRANSVALER,+ WHICH WAS OWNED AND FORMERLY EDITED BY THE LATE PREMIER HENDRIK VERWOERD, JOINED THE ATTACK ON BROWN.

IT ACCUSED HIM OF PLAYING THE +DIVISIVE ROLE OF AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING OUTSIDER IN THE AFRIKANER'S POLITICS.+

AT THE HEIGHT OF THE CONTROVERSY BROWN WAS NOT WITHOUT HIS SUPPORTERS. ANOTHER PRO-GOVERNMENT JOHANNESBURG DAILY NEWSPAPER +DIE VADERLAND+ ASKED WHETHER +AN ISOLATED ENGLISH-SPEAKING MAN'S EFFORT TO COMBAT THE INTERNATIONAL SUBVERSIVE FORCES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA MUST NOW BE OBLITERATED AS SUCH A TERRIBLE NATIONAL EVIL.+

THE STUDENTS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

THE ORANGE FREE STATE +ANOTHER NORTHERN INSTITUTION) REAFFIRMED THEIR ADMIRATION FOR BROWN AND HIS NEWS MAGAZINE, WHILE THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF POTCHEFSTROOM, ALSO IN THE NORTH, WERE THOUGHT TO THINK THE SAME. ON THE OTHER HAND THE STUDENT BODY OF THE BIGGEST SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE, THE UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA, REPUDIATED THE A.S.B. RESOLUTION.

ALL IN ALL, IT WAS THE CLOSEST THING TO A SPLIT IN GOVERNMENT LHINKING THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD SEEN SINCE THE COUNTRY BECAME A REPUBLIC IN 1961.

(MORE)

C 732P/

UPIX-323
5TH ADD BROWN JOHANNESBURG XXX IN 1965.
THE DISPUTE ALSO DREDGED UP SOME INTERESTING DIRTY LINEN. +DIE BURGER+ REVEALED THAT ORIGINALLY THE +OBSERVER+ HAD BEEN FINANCED BY THE NATIONALIST PARTY BUT THAT ABOUT A YEAR AGO THIS SUPPORT WAS WITHDRAWN BECAUSE OF BROWN'S INCREASING ATTACKS ON LEADING NATIONALISTS. YET, THE NEWS MAGAZINE CONTINED TO APPEAR ON SCHEDULE IN ITS USUAL FORMAT WITHOUT ADVERTISEMENTS. +DIE BURGER+ HINTED THAT LEADING RIGHT-WING NATIONALISTS IN THE TRANSVAAL HAD CLUBBED TOGETHER TO KEEP THE PPAPER ALIVE.

THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT +SUNDAY TIMES+ WENT FURTHER AND NAMED THE MEN ALLEGEDLY BEHIND BROWN AND THE +OBSERVER.+ AMONG THEM WERE THE MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS, DR. ALBERT HERTZOG (WHO LINKED THE RECENT VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA OF SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY WITH THE +ULTIMATE AIM OF INTERNATIONAL MONEY POWER, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE FORCES OF COMMUNISM, TO ELIMINATE THE WHITE MAN IN AFRICA+), ANOTHER FAR RIGHT-WING M.P., MR. JAAP MARAIS, (WHO RECENTLY DESCRIBED U.S. WORLD COURT JUDGE PHILIP C. JESSUP AND U.N. AMBASSADOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG AS +PEOPLE WITH LONG RECORDS OF COMMUNIST ASSOCIATIONS+) AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, R. PIET MEYER.

(MORE)

T-738P

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

UPIX-324

6TH ADD BROWN, JOHANNESBURG XXX PIET MEYER.

THE DISPUTE HAS HIGHLIGHTED THE FACT THAT DESPITE ITS SUPERFICIAL APPZARANCE OF GRANITE-LIKE UNITY, THE NATIONALIST PARTY LINKS MANY DIFFERING ELEMENTS. TODAY, WITH INCREASING PROSPERITY IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND A BUOYANT FEELNG OF CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE, SOME NATIONALISTS HAVE MELLOWED. THEY WOULD DEARLY LOVE TO SEE SOUTH AFRICA REGAIN THE INTERNATIONAL AFFECTION AND RESPECT TSHE ENJOYED IN THE YEARS BEFORE THE NATIONALISTS CAME TO POWER IN 1948. THEY ARE TROUBLED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT MEN SUCH AS BROWN COULD GIVE A JOHN BIRCH IMAGE TO THE ENTIRE PARTY.

AT THE OTHER EXTREME ARE MEN WHOSE VIEWS HAVE CHANGED LITTLE SINCE WORLD WAR TWO WHEN SOME NATIONALISTS WORKED DILIGENTLY FOR NAZI VICTORY.

THE MODERATES TAKE THEIR INSPIRATION FROM THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH IN THE SOUTH, WHO ARE TRYING TO FIND A FIRMER MORAL BASIS FOR APARTHEID. THE RIGHT-WINGERS ARE MOSTLY MEN OF THE NORTH. THE TWO FACTIONS REFLECT THE HISTORICAL SPLIT BETWEEN THE AFRIKANER PIONEERS WHO TREKKED NORTH FROM THE CAPE COLONY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, AWAY FROM BRITISH LIBERALISM, AND THOSE WHO REMAINED BEHIND UNDER THE UNION JACK IN THE MELLOW SOUTH, CLOSER TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCES.

T-742P

UPIX-325

BEIRUT, OCT 5 (UPI)--ABOUT 3,000 DEMONSTRATORS DEMANDIN YEMENS +INDEPENDENCE+ FROM EGYPT HAVE CLASHED WITH A PRO-EGYPTIAN GROUP IN THE YEMENI CAPITAL OF TAEZ, ACCORDING TO REPORTS REACHING BEIRUT TODAY.

THE REPORTS, QUOTED BY THE DAILY NEWSPAPER AN-NAHAR, SAID ONE PERSON WAS KILLED AND TWO WOUNDED.

EGYPT HAS HAD TROOPS IN YEMEN SUPPORTING THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION SINCE 1962 AND THEY NOW NUMBER MORE THAN 50,000.

T-743P/067W

''' (PIX ADV FOLOS) (PURO)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

151

57

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

TO / À: The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa.

FROM / De: The Canadian Embassy, Pretoria.

REFERENCE / Référence:

SUBJECT / Sujet: National Party Policy: A View to the Right

SECURITY / Sécurité: CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: September 16, 1965.

NUMBER / Numéro: 296

FILE / DOSSIER
OTTAWA: 20-SAFR-1-4
MISSION: 25-1-3

ENCLOSURES / Annexes

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L.O. Bailey (2)

From:
L. Bailey /dj.
Oct. 6/65

Ext. 407C/Bil. (Admin. Services Div.)

Orig. 20-SAFR-17

On August 27, the Nationalist newspaper Die Transvaler carried a banner headline which read: "Dr. Verwoerd and De Wet Nel (Minister of Bantu Administration and Development) Are The Biggest Political Liars". Shocked readers discovered that the headline, in fact, referred to a statement made by Professor C.F. van de Merwe, a former Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Pretoria University and leader of the right-wing Republican Party, during a speech in which he made a strong personal attack on Dr. Verwoerd. Dr. van de Merwe and other speakers charged, among other things, that Chief Kaiser Matanzima and Dr. Verwoerd were "colleagues" and that the Prime Minister was doing "too much for the kaffir and nothing for the farmer". It was during the course of his speech that Dr. van de Merwe made the remark which led to the controversial headline.

2. The political correspondent of Die Transvaler explained the extraordinary headline as an attempt by the paper to show its readers "the sort of politics this obscure party is resorting to and to warn readers against political deviations of this nature".

3. However, some members of the National Party apparently regard the prominence given to the bitter attack on Dr. Verwoerd as an error. They see it as the best publicity which the Afrikaner right-wing has received so far. Until a few months ago, such right-wing agitation was largely ignored by the Nationalist press, but it is now evidently causing such irritation that a move has been made to discredit the groups involved.

4. The criticism of Dr. van de Merwe and the Republican Party is the third time in the past few months that Die Transvaler has attacked Afrikaner right-wing groups. Its tactics have been to give publicity to the groups, but in such a way as to ridicule them and to suggest that they are insignificant and of little importance. In a series of three articles during July and August, the paper's political correspondent dealt at length and in critical fashion with the activities of the Conservative State Group -- an obscure right-wing organization which has published pamphlets and organized closed meetings in Pretoria and Johannesburg. These were followed, early last month, by a lengthy interview with a member of one of the "Action Committees" of the mine workers (our letter No. 267 of

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

August 25) who recently formed the Conservative Party. The whole tone of the interview was one of ridicule.

5. With an election scheduled for next year, the articles undoubtedly reflect the concern of some members of the Government at the growing defiance of dissatisfied supporters of the National Party. At the recent Transvaal Party Congress, (our letter No. 270 of August 30) farm delegates openly clashed with members of the Cabinet and there were threats that they would abstain from supporting the Party at the forthcoming election. This followed closely upon an open revolt by mine workers when they rejected the Government-approved experiment to remove the colour bar in certain jobs and, after threats against the Government, the Cabinet was forced to give way.

6. It seems almost assured that a number of right-wing Afrikaner groups will contest next year's election. Apart from the candidates of the Republican Party, there will be independent Nationalists and, probably, workers' candidates from the Rand area.

7. After seventeen years of Nationalist rule, there is speculation that, for the first time. Party discipline is cracking and that many right-wing Nationalist supporters will be tempted on election day to vote against official Party candidates. It is estimated that as many as 15 percent of the male Afrikaner population would be virtually unemployable in a free labour market and it is these "poor Whites", whose only asset is the colour of their skin, who provide the hard core of right-wing support. But, while agitation on the right may cause some annoyance and even mild concern for Nationalist leaders, it is unlikely to divert enough votes to endanger the Party's return to power -- probably with an increased majority.

(Sgd.) C.J. Woodsworth

The Embassy.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

(56)
149

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES

TO / À: The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, OTTAWA.

FROM / De: The Canadian Embassy, PRETORIA.

REFERENCE / Référence:

SUBJECT / Sujet: Nationalist Party Congresses

SECURITY / Sécurité: CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: August 30, 1965.

NUMBER / Numéro: 270

FILE / DOSSIER
OTTAWA: 20-SAFR-17
MISSION: CC: 20-SAFR-19

ENCLOSURES / Annexes

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A&ME/L.O.
BAILEY/er

Sept. 13/65

Among the first words of advice we received upon arriving in South Africa was the suggestion that we pay close attention to the forthcoming provincial congresses of the various political parties with an eye to the national elections likely to be held next May. The Nationalist Party held its Natal Congress in Durban early this month and followed it closely with its Transvaal Congress here in Pretoria. While the two meetings produced little that was new or unexpected, they did provide a useful insight into some of the pressures weighing on the Government.

2. The thousand-strong audience which gathered in Durban's City Hall, included over 250 delegates representing more than 100 branches. As part of the Party's campaign to win greater support in this traditionally "British" territory, this year's Congress was carefully prepared to appeal to English-speaking voters and to project the image of a united White front under the banner of the Nationalist Party. As a result, English-speaking supporters played a more active, if still limited, role. There were 20 English-speaking delegates present as opposed to a single such delegate in 1964. The three Cabinet ministers present at the opening-Labour and Immigration Minister Trollip (one of the two English-speaking members of the Cabinet), Justice Minister Vorster and Bantu Education and Indian Affairs Minister Naree - were at pains to use English rather than Afrikaans. Song sheets included "The more we are together, the happier we'll be". Resolutions concentrated on bread and butter issues such as postal facilities, where there were irreconcilable demands for improving facilities and holding the line against the greater use of non-Whites. The resolutions were dealt with in a relaxed manner and the air of self-confidence which surrounded the congress culminated in a call for a R100,000 fund-raising campaign "to fight every seat in the province" in the next year's election.

3. In contrast to the tone of friendship and co-operation at Durban, the Transvaal Congress, held a week later, made few gestures to the English-speaking voter and instead featured some hard in-fighting. Delegates spoke embarrassingly frankly and at times diverged from strict party policy. Of the 984 official delegates, not more than four or five were English-speaking. Two out of 124 resolutions were in English. There was one short speech by an English-speaking delegate although Dr. Verwoerd, in his opening address, spoke at length in English.

... 2

Ext. 407C/Bil. (Admin. Services Div.)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

4. Facing a packed Pretoria City Hall, the Prime Minister dealt with a number of subjects for which he had been criticized recently. He attacked the United Party for "political fraud", denied that he was deliberately trying to provoke the United States, rapped Chief Matanzima over the knuckles and condemned neo-liberalism. His speech received a mixed reaction from the press. The Sunday Times' political correspondent had some unkind things to say and concluded by commenting "It was not the master politician — it was more like an ill-equipped school master trying to explain tricky problems for which there were no real answers". The Rand Daily Mail dismissed the speech in three lines as "defensive in character, questionable in logic and the subject matter tended to be rather mundane". Die Vaderland, on the other hand, offered a glowing tribute when it said "On a few occasions every year, in the midst of the noise and confusion of a world obsessed with a spirit of destruction to incite illwill, hatred and hostility between people and nations and then to profit by it, there is the voice of a single unique world statesman that gives new hope by the coolness of their argument and the power and right of their vision ..... that voice sounded again last night in the City Hall of Pretoria, not harsh and challenging, but calm and positive, when the Prime Minister of the Republic, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, opened the huge congress of the National Party of the Transvaal. It was the voice of a statesman who, unswerving in his resolve to maintain the national sovereignty of the white people of the Republic of South Africa, and at the same time wide and generous in his desire to hand over guardianship of the non-whites to them in a spirit of permanent goodwill and practical neighbourliness, offers co-operation and alliance to his continent and to the world, and neither wants nor looks for trouble".

5. After the delegates went through the motions of unanimously re-electing Dr. Verwoerd as provincial party leader, the questions began. Agriculture proved the thorniest problem. Disgruntled delegates accused the Government of failing to look after the farmers' interests and at one point there was a threat that the farmers might abstain from supporting the Nationalist Party at next year's election. Following a heated debate, with Agricultural Economics Minister Uys under fire, the vote was taken on two alternative resolutions -- one calling for a full scale enquiry into agriculture (which was against party policy) and the other for an ad hoc solution. Delegates voted 104 - 103 for the original resolution and, although the congress chairman, Interior Minister de Klerk, was prepared to dismiss the resolution because of its uncertain majority, Dr. Verwoerd intervened to promise that the Government would consider both proposals carefully.

6. Delegates also called for strong Government action against the "liberalist press". But Information Minister Waring reported that there would be no immediate clampdown. He warned however, that freedom of the press was not a licence to indulge in "pernicious, dangerous and distorted criticism". A few days later students from Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg picketted the offices of the Rand Daily Mail calling for "News Not Abuse".

... 3

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

7. Transport Minister Schoeman closed the Transvaal congress with the assurance that "the Government does not fear criticism by its supporters" and as one political commentator remarked, "If the Nationalist Party sometimes has its head in the sand, it at least has its ear to the ground".

The Embassy.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper TIMES. *File No.* 201/2/2/1

Published at LONDON. *Date* 12-8-65

55
146

PRESS ATTACKED IN S. AFRICAN CALL FOR WHITE UNITY

From Our Correspondent—DURBAN, AUG. 11

Unity between the two white sections of the nation and the preservation of white supremacy in South Africa is providing the central theme of ministerial and delegates' speeches and resolutions at the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban. Condemnation of opponents of the present South African regime and veiled threats of action against those who decry or try to subvert the country's policies are projections of this theme, with the English-language press coming in for strong criticism.

Mr. Vorster, the Minister of Justice, sounded a warning note when he said the next stage of agitation against South Africa would take the form of infiltration of the country by trained saboteurs. All agitation against South Africa was aimed at defeating white survival, and he called on both white language groups to "stand together so as to ensure survival of the republic", and to stand solidly behind the Government. He predicted that, in spite of attempts by politicians and certain sections of the press to keep them apart, English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans would develop greater cooperation in the years to come.

DEFENCE AND AID FUND

Speaking on a resolution which sought the confiscation of foreign contributions to "subversive organizations" Mr. Vorster said the Defence and Aid Fund (one of the organizations to which the resolution obviously referred) had not yet been declared an illegal organization. He did not at this stage want to say any more than "not yet". When the organization became a danger to the state its funds could be confiscated and given to charity, as had been done with the funds of the Communist Party and the Congress of Democrats.

Dr. S. Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said it was clear that the British branch of the Defence and Aid Fund had political motives against South Africa. It assisted the dependants and met the court expenses of people, some of whom had admitted being communists. Referring to the Netherlands Government's proffered contribution to the fund, Mr. Muller said many people in Holland had now begun to think objectively about the propaganda campaign against South Africa.

ABLE TO JUDGE

Mr. Waring, the Minister of Information, speaking on a resolution demanding strong measures against the opposition press, said no immediate action would be taken against South African journalists who supported agitation against their country. He urged the congress to leave the matter of dealing with the hostile press in the hands of the Government, "which is quite able to judge what should be done and when".

DURBAN, Aug. 11.—Mr. Waring referred to stringers (local journalists who write for overseas publications) who "slandered South Africa" and said the world was getting "a bit sick" of their activities. Apart from stringers and overseas journalists who visited this country in disguise like James Bond characters to "sniff around", he said there were South African journalists who strove to provide the country's enemies overseas with ammunition. These people almost invited action against them because they wanted to be made martyrs.

The introducer of the motion, Mr. S. Nortje, said the National Party had never objected to valid criticism, but the *Rand Daily Mail* and the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* had sunk to the lowest depths of meanness. Their agitation about conditions in prisons was "one of the lowest ways" in which South Africa could be represented to the outside world. It was time newspapers like these began to "play cricket".—*Reuter*.

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS I. 13344

INWARD SAVINGRAM

Dated: 26th March, 1965
Rec'd: 1st April, 1965

FROM :
Australian Embassy,
PRETORIA.

Savingram No. 2/65 UNCLASSIFIED.

Repeated - London, New York

PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

Elections for the Provincial Councils were held throughout the Republic on March 24. The Nationalists, the United Party, and the Progressive Party put forward candidates and there were some independents. Interest attaches to the results as indicating the state of White opinion in advance of next years national elections.

2. Only 57 of the 170 seats were contested, and only about one-third of the Republic's 1,848,419 White voters were called upon to vote. In the remaining 113 constituencies there was no polling and candidates were returned unopposed. The unopposed returns gave the Nationalists 21 seats in the Free State's 25 seat Provincial Council, 28 in the Cape's 54 seat Council (which also has two White representatives of the Coloureds) and 33 seats in the Transvaal's 68 seat Council. In Natal the unopposed returns gave the United Party 11 seats in the 25 seat Council.

3. The final state of the parties in the four Councils is as follows. The old figures are shown in brackets.

Transvaal	Nationalists 51 (48)	United Party 17 (20)
Natal	United Party 16 (21)	Nationalists 8 (4)
	Independents 1	
Cape	Nationalists 32 (30)	United Party 22 (24)
	Progressive Party 2	(Coloured constituencies)
Free State	Nationalists 25	United Party Nil (No change)

4. Voting showed a pronounced swing to Dr. Verwoerd, with his National Party winning 10 seats from the United Party. Seats retained by the latter party against the Nationalists showed reduced majorities, confirming the trend. The Progressives fared very badly.

5. The results are the more significant in that there were such factors to distract and influence voters as a bad drought which has caused distress among farmers, demands by public servants for salary increases, rising prices and the failure without much effective Government redress of a large insurance organisation which involved some 400,000 holders in the loss of their third party policies.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS I. 1334

144

6. The results made nonsense of Mr. Verwoerd's earlier claims of mounting support for his party among the English speaking section of the White Community. He said yesterday that this group is now more and more openly aligning itself with his Government's policies and that a very large part of the Nationalist success, especially in Natal, must be ascribed to this. He added that the world at large could not escape the message given at the polls.

Kevin.

MIN. & DEPT E.A.
MIN. & DEPT DEFENCE

1st April, 1965

A/SEC FAS(1,2,3,4) SAS(MS) AS(JIC) SAMT S&SEA DL INT PACAM AMSP EAMFC E AFME@ ICR MT ER CR Ç PPO
ACCRA CAIRO DAR-ES-SALAAM LAGOS NEW DELHI ROME TEL AVIV WASHINGTON WELLINGTON

NEWARD SAVINGRAM

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper INWARD SAVINGRAM File No. 201/NATIONAL PARTY 2/2/1 (53) 143

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NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS 201/NATIONAL PARTY (f)

At the Congress celebrating the 50th anniversary of the National Party, Dr. Verwoerd warned White political parties, particularly the Progressive Party, that they did not have the freedom or the right to meddle in non-White politics of the Coloureds and the Transkei. He also accused Mr. Harry Oppenheimer of mixing his Progressive Party political policies with his financial policies and of advocating what amounted to international colonialist capitalism when he (Mr. Oppenheimer) said White capitalists should be allowed to operate in the African areas. Dr. Verwoerd said South Africa wanted to make its money and knowledge available to other African states, on the same basis as it was assisting the Transkei. It meant providing assistance to foster economic development, and was a policy of non-interference and non-exploitation.

2. At a subsequent party Congress in Bloemfontein Dr. Verwoerd said that neither South Africa's cultural ties with Holland nor the economic advantages of its trade with Japan gave either of these countries the right to interfere in the Republic's domestic affairs. (He was referring to a recent report that Holland and Japan had stated that they would do all they could to help change the apartheid pattern in South Africa.)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

142

201/2/2/1
201/2/2/2
201/2/2/15
201/2/2/14
201/2/5/1
201/2/5/6
201/4/1
201/7/1
201/9/1
201/9/1/1
201/9/1/2
201/11/127

FOR F.O. PRINT "SOUTH AFRICA - ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1963" SEE FILE 201/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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Africa 201/2/2/1 141 (52)

JSA 1015/160 *Foreign Office and Whitehall Distribution*

SOUTH AFRICA
August 19, 1963
Section 1

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARTY

Mr. Young to Lord Home. (*Received August 19*)

SUMMARY

The National Party which has ruled South Africa first in coalition, then singlehanded, since 1948, is a radical political party dedicated to the advancement of the Afrikaner nation. Little support for it in the past by English-speaking South Africans (paragraphs 1 and 2).

2. The policy of Botha and Smuts between 1910 and 1948 to amalgamate the English and the Afrikaners into one nation, whilst maintaining the British and Commonwealth connection, did not satisfy the extreme Afrikaner Nationalists and in 1934 under Dr. Malan they broke away from the Smutz-Hertzog coalition to form the " Purified " National Party (paragraph 3).

3. Until 1948 this party concentrated on non-parliamentary activities. They established mass Afrikaner cultural and economic organisations and during World War II a pro-Nazi military wing, prepared to seize power by force, over which the parliamentary wing of the party had difficulty in asserting their supremacy (paragraphs 4–6).

4. The party is well organised with a high proportion of party members to voters. The chief aims of the party machine are to get votes, to keep contact between leaders and the rank and file, and to promote the youth movement. High policy, however, is made by the Cabinet rather than the party (paragraph 7).

5. Since 1948 the party have increased their poll at each election, and, due in part to the " weighting " of rural constituencies, are unlikely to be defeated in future ones. As a result Parliament has become a mere rubber stamp for the party's policies. Its leaders are dedicated and experienced politicians dominated by Dr. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, whose personal inspiration is the Government's present " Bantustan " policy. Senator de Klerk, Mr. Shoeman and Dr. Dönges have all been considered as possible successors but a recent favourite has been Mr. Vorster, the ruthless Minister of Justice (paragraphs 8–10).

6. The potential weaknesses in the party are the conflict between the Cape and Transvaal Nationalists, sporadic revolts by intellectuals and churchmen against certain aspects of apartheid, discontent among the farmers, and deviations on the Right wing. The presence of more English-speaking people in the party's fold may have an effect on the anti-English emotion and narrow outlook which previously characterised the party (paragraph 11).

7. By themselves these potential weaknesses present no problem to the Government but they might be exploited in certain circumstances, such as a struggle for the succession to Dr. Verwoerd. On the other hand external pressures, or unrest within South Africa, would only increase party cohesion (paragraph 12).

8. Meanwhile the party presses ahead with its chief aims: making a " reality " of apartheid, and suppressing all internal opposition to White supremacy. So long as the present Government is in power, South Africa will remain a grave embarrassment to the West. There is no prospect that it will be peacefully removed or that it will make any concession towards egalitarianism unless, for its own preservation, it must (paragraphs 13 and 14).

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

(No. 43. Confidential) *Pretoria,*
My Lord, *August 15, 1963.*

The National Party has now ruled South Africa single-handed for 12 years. It came to power in 1948 in coalition with the Afrikaner Party, which merged with them in 1951. The name of the party is in itself a misnomer: the "nation" in its title is not the South African nation; it is the Afrikaner *volk*. The party has thus been the political expression of the Afrikaner people and dedicated, above all else, to the preservation of that people as a distinctive nation and to its entire mastery of the machinery of power in South Africa. In its dogmatic and doctrinaire attitude it is essentially a radical party by tradition which has come about for the good of the "have-nots" in South African White politics. In this it stands in contrast to its chief opponent, the United Party, which has more of an empirical approach towards the preservation of the *status quo*.

2. Traditionally very few English-speaking South Africans have supported the National Party, although more have, it seems certain, been doing so latterly. Its recently-founded "English-speaking" branch, the "John X. Merriman Society", is largely composed of immigrant central Europeans and commands little support. There are two English-speaking members of the South African Cabinet who were included as part of a comparatively new drive to win English-speaking support for the party. Their influence either with the Cabinet or the public is not great. Such success as the party has had in attracting support from outside the ranks of Afrikaners is due mainly to the spread of the belief that it is likely to prove the most effective guardian of White supremacy in any future crisis.

3. The historical origins of the National Party are to be found partly in the early Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, with their frontier traditions of exclusive Afrikaner nationalism, primitive Calvinism and racial intolerance; and partly in the old traditions of the Cape with its comparative racial and political tolerance. Following the Anglo-Boer war and the period of Milnerite rule of South Africa, the Union of 1910 set the stage for the first time for South African politics on a national scale. From 1910 to 1948 it is possible to detect an inherent pattern in South African politics; a majority party maintained in power by a majority of the English-speaking and a minority of the Afrikaans-speaking voters, attempting both to fuse the two major White races in South Africa into a single White South African nation, and to maintain the British and Commonwealth connections. This was the policy of Botha and Smuts. Periodically this policy of reconciliation between the White races did not satisfy the more extreme Afrikaner Nationalists. In the years following Union, Hertzog was the leader and spokesman of those Afrikaners who mistrusted "reconciliation" and all that it entailed; and in 1914 he formed the first National Party. But 20 years later, in 1934, Hertzog (then in coalition with Smuts) was outflanked by Dr. Malan, the Cape Nationalist leader who led his followers into the political wilderness and formed the "Purified" National Party. The present National Party stems directly from this breakaway.

4. Malan and his followers stayed out of office until 1948, and during this period the forces of "Purified" Nationalism were deployed mainly in non-parliamentary fields: cultural, economic and ever para-military. This period saw the establishment and rise, largely under the inspiration of the Afrikaner *Broederbond* (a powerful secret society dedicated to the advance of Afrikanerdom) of such mass organisations as the Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organisations (F.A.K.) and the *Reddingsdaadbond* (R.D.B.) whose purpose was to raise the economic level of the Afrikaners and ensure their share in the capitalist wealth of South Africa. This involved setting up banks, insurance companies, &c. The beginning of this drive coincided with the flow to the towns of large numbers of Afrikaners from the countryside who had been forced out of farming by the slump or were younger sons of large families for whom there was no land. They had no training to suit them for urban life, and the predominantly English-owned business houses and industries were reluctant to employ them. During the 1939–45 War the "Purified" Nationalists both expected and hoped for a German victory. Their para-military wing, the "Ox-wagon Guard" (Ossewabrandwag—O.B.), was prepared to seize power by force.

5. During this period the Parliamentary Party was thus only one wing of organised Afrikanerdom, the real strength of which depended on what an historian has called "the interlocking directorate of personalities" common to all of these organisations. As a member of the Executive Committee

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

140

of the Broederbond Dr. Verwoerd's influence was very great, but not directly parliamentary. Dr. Diederichs, now Minister of Economic Affairs and Mines, was both a Broederbond leader and specifically responsible for the R.D.B. Towards the end of the war it was only by the most severe political in-fighting that the Parliamentary Party was able to exert its supremacy over the O.B.

6. The election of 1948 changed this position. Although Dr. Malan and most of his Cabinet were Broederbond members, he wasted no time in asserting the primacy of the Parliamentary Party; and this has been maintained. The organisations mentioned above are still in existence and have important roles to play in maintaining the cohesion and discipline of Afrikanerdom. But none of them presents any threat to the authority of the Parliamentary Party.

7. The party itself is a formidably organised and disciplined organisation. At the bottom are cells of some 15 members, depending eventually on the four Provincial organisations. From the latter is drawn the national executive. The proportion of party members to voters is very high (in Natal in 1953 there were 22,000 members against 26,000 voters). Women play a large role at the grass-roots level, but are not encouraged to seek exalted party rank. Great attention is paid to the youth movement. Party membership itself carries many more obligations than, say, Labour Party membership in Britain. The party machine is essential for the party leadership, in getting it votes, and in ensuring that the needs of party members can be conveyed to the leadership. Indeed at party congresses there is a great deal of plain speaking. But, particularly since the Prime Ministership of Dr. Verwoerd, high policy has been decided in Cabinet.

8. At successive elections since 1948 the National Party has increased its poll. It now has 105 seats out of 160 in Parliament, with no apparent possibility of electoral defeat in the foreseeable future. The Nationalists are, of course, electorally favoured by the " weighting " of the votes of rural constituencies (it is one of the saddest paradoxes of South African history that this " weighting " of the rural vote was in 1910 written into the Constitution at the insistence of the English-speaking Cape politician John X. Merriman). The built-in majority of the National Party seems therefore to be indestructible; and Parliament has become little more than a rubber stamp for the policies of the National Party.

9. The present leadership of the party consists of dedicated and experienced politicians. The dominating figure, head and shoulders above his colleagues, is the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd. After refusing a Rhodes Scholarship and studying in Germany, Dr. Verwoerd returned to South Africa in the early 1930s to the Chair of Psychology at Stellenbosch University. He was then appointed editor of the *Transvaler* (the National Party's organ in the Transvaal) and became the dominant figure in the Broederbond. Until his succession as Prime Minister on the death of Strijdom, he was Minister of Native Affairs and the present " Bantustan " policies of the Government have been personally inspired by him. In some ways Dr. Verwoerd's position in his party is not unlike that of Disraeli. He is a " foreigner ", having been born in Holland of Dutch (not Afrikaner) parents. His intellectual powers greatly exceed those of his colleagues, of whom he is said to be intolerant. And he is able, like Disraeli, to lead his party in unexpected directions at short notice.

10. There has been much speculation as to his eventual successor, particularly since the attempt on his life in 1960. The probable choice, 12 months ago, appeared to lie between one of the party stalwarts, such as Senator de Klerk, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Schoeman, Minister of Transport, or Dr. Dönges, Minister of Finance. But in the past 12 months a new favourite has emerged in the person of the ruthless and dynamic Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster who, in the eyes of most White South Africans, stands between them and black revolution. Vorster's succession would be in keeping with the historical progression since 1948 by which each Prime Minister has been succeeded by another yet more extreme than himself. But such a succession would not be undisputed; political history would make Mr. Vorster a curious leader of the National Party. His war-time allegiance was to the O.B. in which he was a " General " and, as such, bitterly at odds with the Parliamentary Party. He first stood for Parliament as a member of the Afrikaner (*i.e.*, Hertzog) Party and indeed was one of that party's candidates whom the Nationalists tried to veto. He commands no immediate personal following in Parliament but is widely admired and respected. It remains to be seen if his parliamentary and personal qualities and his popular appeal are enough to get him the job, always supposing that his health, which is said to be in doubt, proves adequate.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

11. Despite their apparently monolithic strength and overwhelming parliamentary majority, there are nevertheless various factors and various elements within the National Party which tend towards disunity and which may therefore be taken as potential sources of weakness:

(*a*) The latent conflict between the more liberal traditions of the Cape and the more ruthless extremism of the "wild men" from the Transvaal. This contradiction is more apparent to an observer in the Cape than in the Transvaal—from the latter the Cape looks like a genteel anachronism which has been by-passed by history. Indeed the present credentials of "Cape nationalism" are not very impressive. The allegedly "liberal" Cape nationalists have acquiesced in the suppression of almost all their own multi-racial traditions. These traditions cannot now be taken very seriously either as a brake on the National Party or as an important divisive factor unless a real clash should one day develop over policy toward the Coloureds, who are mainly in the Cape.

(*b*) Intellectual doubts. In certain non-Parliamentary sectors of Afrikanerdom, notably among the intellectuals and in the Dutch Reformed Church, there are periodic signs of revolt against the doctrine, and more particularly against certain of the manifestations of apartheid. A recent example has been the movement in the Church culminating in the trial for heresy of Professor Geyser, one of the seven Professors of Theology at Pretoria University. Such episodes never fail to raise hopes among liberal South Africans that the brutalities and the sheer intellectual dottiness of apartheid may lead the intellectual leaders of Afrikanerdom to reject it, and the National Party with it. Such hopes have always been still-born; and the organised machinery of Afrikanerdom has been able swiftly to isolate and disarm intellectual or moral rebels.

(*c*) Economic Pressures. The largely Afrikaner farmers of the *platteland* produce far more maize than can be consumed in South Africa and there is also over-production of citrus fruits. These crops are State subsidised; but there is a continual ground-swell of discontent against a Government which, in the farmers' view, does not feather-bed them sufficiently comfortably. The United Party in recent months have been trying to cash in on this rural discontent. But it is very unlikely that the *platteland* farmers, surrounded as they are by African farm labour far more numerous than themselves, and subjected to all the pressures of Church and society, would allow their discontent to affect their party allegiance to any serious extent.

(*d*) From time to time lunatic Right-wing fringes emerge. The "Back to Strijdom" and the "Save South Africa" movements now enjoying some notoriety in the Transvaal are examples of this. Many Afrikaners in their hearts agree with the view that "Dr. Verwoerd is the greatest liberal of them all", and contrast the perennially depressed state of the Afrikaner farmer in the *platteland* with, as they imagine, the grossly disproportionate sums of money being poured into the Bantustans and non-White welfare in general. But this movement has not in recent years thrown up any leaders of substance; and the almost mystical prestige which Dr. Verwoerd enjoys among the generality of Afrikaners, as well as in Parliament, should in the foreseeable future prevent any large-scale defections in this direction. Nevertheless, the historical pattern of the National Party has required that every so often it should renew itself by hiving off in the direction of extreme Afrikaner Nationalism. Although, therefore, these extreme Right-wing groups present no current threat to the National Party, they represent an abiding tendency in Afrikaner politics; and as such deserve close attention.

(*e*) In its efforts to strengthen the White *laager* against the threat from Africans inside and outside South Africa, the Government has since the establishment of the Republic in May 1961 made an increasing effort to appeal to the English-speaking section of the White electorate. That they have had some considerable success in this is acknowledged even by their opponents, but it

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

introduces a new element into the National Party that has the effect of making out-of-date much of narrow Afrikaner anti-English emotion which was one of the strongest cohesive forces which brought it to power. It also leaves the party open to being influenced in the long run to some extent by its new recruits.

12. None of these potential sources of weakness presents in itself any serious threat to the present dominance of the National Party. But it is possible to imagine a set of circumstances in which one or more of them might influence events. If, on the death or retirement of Dr. Verwoerd there was any prolonged and bitter intra-party struggle for his succession, it is possible that among the contenders one or other might seek support among the currently dissident elements. It is also possible that if the external pressures on South Africa became more severe and if unrest, sabotage or even armed uprising within South Africa seriously threatened the fabric of the régime, the Afrikaner people would band together behind the most effective and most reactionary leader they could find. All this perhaps rather favours the chances of Mr. Vorster.

13. For the time being, however, it would be unrealistic to foresee any significant cracks in the monolith of the National Party; and we may expect to see it, under its present leadership, pressing on towards its present objectives:

(*a*) To make a " reality " of apartheid by means of its Bantustan policy, at whatever economic cost to South Africa.

(*b*) To continue ruthlessly to suppress all internal opposition aimed at removing White supremacy. The National Party has already banned all non-White political movements. It is now starting in on the predominantly White Liberal Party; and the turn of the Progressives may come soon.

14. If one can disregard for a moment the injustice, cruelty and corruption inherent in the Nationalist régime in South Africa, it is difficult to withhold a certain reluctant admiration for the granite single-mindedness with which the National Party pursues and achieves its aims. But, quite apart from any moral considerations, its continuance in power is an insuperable obstacle to our developing a really close and friendly relationship with this country and a grave impediment to our relations with the rest of Africa. While the Nationalists remain in control—and there is no foreseeable prospect, short of revolution, of their removal—we can expect South Africa to remain a grave embarrassment to the West; and the chances of any peaceful transition in South Africa to any more egalitarian form of society are diminishing with every month that passes. There is little hope in the present Opposition; and one can only hope that sheer instinct for self-preservation may eventually drive the National Party itself to come to terms with the mid-1960s.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Salisbury, to Her Majesty's Representatives in Washington and at the United Nations, to Consular posts in South Africa and to the Commander-in-Chief, South Atlantic and South America.

I have, &c.

W. H. YOUNG
(*Chargé d'Affaires*).

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

138

201/2/2/1

22nd September, 1961.

The Secretary,
Prime Minister's Department,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

South Africa : The National Party.

We are forwarding for your information a copy of memorandum 471 of 31st August 1961 from the Australian Embassy, Pretoria, concerning the future role to be played by the National Party in South African politics.

(L.E. Phillips)
for the Acting Secretary

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

137

TELEGRAMS: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"
TELEPHONE: 20854

REFERENCE NO. 202/5/1

Memo No. 471

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
-8 SEP 1961
201/2/2/1
CANBERRA

Ambassador of
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
Republic
7TH FLOOR, NORTHVAAL,
VERMEULEN STREET,
PRETORIA.

31st August, 1961

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

NATIONAL PARTY'S NEW ROLE

When Dr. Verwoerd opened the Transvaal Congress of the National Party on the 16th August he said: "I see the National Party today - and I say it openly - not as an Afrikaans or English or Afrikaans/English party in the future, whatever it might have been in the past. I see it as a party which stands for the preservation of the white man, of the white Government in South Africa". He added that "a tremendous change had come about as a result of South Africa's becoming a Republic - a Republic that had brought about a change in the relationship between us in South Africa, one towards another, and in our relationship with other countries - a change for the better".

2. This statement of his political philosophy is of considerable importance from several angles. Primarily it appears to be an effort to lead the National Party into abandoning the traditional arena of English/Afrikaans conflict and moving the struggle into the sphere of White versus Black politics. He appears to have consciously sought to broaden his party's appeal to all those who are concerned with the defence of white interests or put in another way, he has indicated his intention of concentrating on what he calls "the National/Conservative" and the "Leftist/Liberal" polarization.

3. In adopting this line Dr. Verwoerd has accepted the long term risk of trading those of his own following who have become too liberal-mind for his party's comfort in exchange for those who have in the past support the Opposition but who are, according to his calculations, essentially "National/Conservative" in their outlook. Significant confirmation of this lay in his words "there was no justification for calling English-speaking people who joined the National Party traitors to any cause or to any national group. I say the same to my own people. When an Afrikaans-speaking person believes that the other direction is best, we must not look upon him as being a traitor to Afrikaners".

4. In the course of the same speech, he sought to support this approach by emphasizing that the status of South Africa as a Republic outside the Commonwealth was permanent. He said that there was still intention among some people in South Africa to seek a way back into the Commonwealth, but the Afro-Asians had made it clear they wanted Black supremacy in South Africa. "There is no way back unless we sacrifice the principle of no interference, unless we are prepared to go far further than the policies of the United Party. Therefore it is futile and dangerous to talk of a way back to the Commonwealth - dangerous because it would mean further and further concessions and further and further sacrifices in what we believe to be the best policy."

Mr Phillips
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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

136

5. Subsequently on the 23rd August when opening the Natal Congress of the National Party Dr. Verwoerd said that it was unrealistic to think of South Africa returning to the Commonwealth. Events in the past few months have shown, and the future would show, that Commonwealth membership would only hinder relations between South Africa and other nations. The Commonwealth had begun as the British Commonwealth of Nations. Today it was an Afro-Asian Commonwealth of which Britain was a member. He added that Ghana had helped to bring about the situation which had led to South Africa's withdrawal from the club. But today Ghana was becoming so communist oriented that it was impossible to predict how long she would choose to remain in the Commonwealth. Another development in the Commonwealth was that it would seem that it would be in the interests of Britain to join the European Common Market. In the past the Commonwealth had not only been a political association of nations, but also an economic association. If Britain were to join the Common Market it must necessarily have an effect on one of the strongest factors binding the Commonwealth. This was now at stake. From this aspect how could it be in the interests of South Africa to return to the Commonwealth when preferences disappeared. It was an unrealistic idea and also a foolish idea, even from the point of view of the English-speaking people of the Republic.

6. It would seem that a good deal more will be said before the election campaign is finished on the Commonwealth issue, as the United Party has indicated conditionally and the Progressive Party unconditionally intentions of returning South Africa to the Commonwealth if it were possible. If Dr. Verwoerd is to counter the loss of some liberal Afrikaner votes by gaining some English-speaking support, he will have to convince the latter that a return to the Commonwealth would neither be practicable nor profitable.

7. Copies of this memorandum have been forwarded to London, Accra and Lagos.

(O.L. Davis)
Ambassador

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

(49) A.F 135

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper TIMES. *File No.* 201/2/2/1

Published at LONDON. *Date* 7 9 61

TWO VIEWS ABOUT COLOURED PEOPLE

NATIONALISTS DIVIDED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN, SEPT. 1

The two streams in Nationalist thought about the Cape Coloured people have become strongly apparent in the Cape Nationalist Party Congress now in session here.

A delegate who happens to be the head of the commerce department at the Coloured university college, was warmly congratulated by some members today after he warned congress that they must not regard Coloured women merely as washerwomen or someone to do the dishes. "Next year I will be producing my first B Com. student. Will he be a problem to us or an asset? The Coloured typist—does she not mean more to us than an immigrant from Italy who does not understand our way of life? We must provide opportunities for these people", he said. He was obviously referring to the request by members yesterday that the Government should consider applying job reservation to office work; several delegates had said Coloured workers were ousting whites from office jobs.

"RIGHT OF EXISTENCE"

Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Coloured Affairs, told the congress the Coloured people must be regarded as part of the western group. Both they and whites "have a right of existence here. Both have this right to an inherent worth and dignity. The problem is not the Coloured people, but the relationship between them and the whites. The beauty of South Africa is its diversity. We must develop this diversity."

Since 80 per cent of the Coloured group were weak and backward it was necessary to find leaders among them and train them for leadership of their own people. He said it was the Government's policy to place Coloured education under the control of the Coloured Affairs Department.

Mr. Fouché, Minister of Defence, told the congress that if Britain were involved in a war with Russia, South Africa was morally bound by the Simonstown pact to fight on her side.

He also said that South Africa had bought the manufacturing rights for F.N. automatic rifles and also the rights for highly mobile armoured cars. Replying to a delegate he said Coloured men would be given military training as drivers and artisans and for other noncombatant roles, but it was against Government policy to train them for combat.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD SAVINGRAM

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134

Dated: 18th August, 1961.

Rec'd: 25th August, 1961.

FROM:

Australian Embassy,
PRETORIA.

SAV. 19 UNCLASSIFIED.

File 201/2/2/1

Summary of Events in South Africa.

4th - 17th August, 1961)

GENERAL ELECTION

1. Sir de Villiers Graaff has announced that agreement has been reached between the United Party and the National Union for an election pact. The two parties have agreed on a number of matters of policy, and in particular their common acceptance of the Republic as an accomplished fact, their common realisation of the need for an effort to eliminate legislation which offends the dignity of the non-Whites, and a policy of ultimate racial federation for South Africa. They have agreed to differ on their policy for representation of non-Whites in Parliament. Under this arrangement the National Union will contest at least ten seats in the election in place of the United Party, but it appears that all but one of these will be Nationalist-held. It is reported that a Senate seat will be found for Mr. H.A. Fagan, the new leader of the National Union, by the transfer of a United Party Natal Senator to the lower House.

2. The Progressive Party announced on 14th August that it would not oppose the United Party where to do so might permit the National Party to win. It would contest only Nationalist strongholds or seats the National Party could not win. This means that some of the sitting Progressive Party members (and particularly Dr. Steytler, the Leader of the Party) will be unable to stand for their present seats. The Party will not contest the four coloured seats, since the majority of Coloureds have decided to boycott the elections.

3. The Prime Minister in his opening speeches has indicated that his main call will be for political unity among those English-and Afrikaans-speaking Whites who think alike. He is also reported to have said that his is seeking the approval of the electorate for a policy of no longer permitting anti-Government forces to spread doubt and gloom and thus damage the economy. He has described Mr. Fagan as a fence-sitter and vacillator who was never of much political significance.

4. Five sitting members of the National Party have so far been forced to withdraw from pre-election contests for their constituencies, in what the opposition press describe as a campaign to unseat the more moderate Nationalist M.P.s. Also, Professor Fourie, the Independent M.P. who recently joined the Progressive Party, has announced that he will not stand again; nor will Mr. Basson of the National Union stand again in South West Africa. Dr. J.H. Maolman, the former Chairman of the South African Wool Board, has joined the United Party and is to be a candidate for Albert North.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I.12924

INWARD SAVINGRAM

Dated: 19th May 1961

Rec'd: 23rd May 1961
1600

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN.

SAVING 12. UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.
(28th April, to 11th May, 1961)

STATE PRESIDENT.

1. The Governor-General, Mr. C.R. Swart, resigned with effect from 1st May and the Chief Justice was appointed Officer Administering the Government for the period up to 31st May. Mr. Swart's resignation was designed to avoid the appearance that he might have an advantage in the election for State President of the new Republic.

2. Mr. Swart was nominated for President by the National Party at the meeting of the Electoral College of both Houses of Parliament on 10th May. The Opposition nominated the Hon. H.A. Fagan, a former Chief Justice of the Union, Mr. Swart defeated Mr. Fagan by 139 votes to 71 in a secret ballot. The voting was on strict party lines. Mr. Swart will be sworn in in Pretoria on the morning of 31st May.

NON-EUROPEAN DEMONSTRATIONS.

3. The African National Action Council has written to the Prime Minister informing him of the decisions of the All-In African Unity Conference in Pietermaritzburg in March and asking him to call a national convention. On the morning of 3rd May the Police conducted the most extensive raids ever made in South Africa on left-wing politicians and organizations, including many Whites (especially of the Liberal Party - a few non-European members of the Progressive Party were also raided). The Police searched premises minutely, and documents were removed, but no political arrests were made. In addition, systematic house-to-house searches were conducted in most African urban townships on 3rd May and following days. Many of the non-European political leaders visited were not at home. Nelson Mandela, Secretary of the African National Action Council, said that the police were looking for evidence of preparations for the use of violence on 31st May and found none because there were none. The Council would go on with its plans for peaceful demonstrations, and the raids had only made it more determined.

4. A meeting of 4,000 Malays in Cape Town enthusiastically supported proposals for action at the end of May. The South African United Front in London said on 11th May that all demonstrations would be peaceful and therefore the South African Government would be responsible for any violence which occurred. It is widely expected among all races in the Union that the police may make extensive arrests as May progresses, and many African leaders are reported to be in hiding.

201/2/2/1
(Para 12)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

132

INWARD SAVINGRAM

GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

5. The Minister of Justice moved in the House of Assembly on 8th May the second reading of a General Law Amendment Bill, which he intends to push through Parliament rapidly. The Bill authorises an Attorney-General (for a period of twelve months) to hold suspects in gaol for twelve days before they become eligible for bail; more crimes are added to the list for which the Minister may direct a non-jury trial; control of arms and ammunition in the Union is tightened; and penalties under the Riotous Assemblies Act are raised and the onus of proof in charges of intimidation is put on the accused. The Minister of Justice said that the Bill was designed to give the Government adequate power to maintain order without resorting to a State of Emergency: in times of trouble it was necessary to get dangerous people behind bars. All Opposition parties are strongly opposing the Bill.

ECONOMIC MEASURES.

6. The Minister of Finance announced on 4th May that the bank rate would be raised from 4½% to 5% and medium- and long-term loan rates would go up by ¼%. The minimum reserve for trading banks to hold with the Reserve Bank would go up from 6% to 8% of deposits. Foreign exchange allowed to tourists going abroad would be cut from R2,500 per head per annum to R20 per head per day with a maximum of R1,000. Emigrants could take from the Union R10,000 per family, instead of R20,000 as before. There would be no change in exchange control for foreign-owned capital.

7. The Minister of Economic Affairs announced on the same day that the Government would give closer attention to imports. Import licences for luxuries would be cut, and many imported items replaceable from local sources which were formerly freely imported (and especially textiles) would be put on restricted lists. The "second round" of import licences for 1961, issued a few weeks earlier, would be cut in value in some categories.

8. The fiscal measures outlined above have been generally welcomed, since the Government has been under pressure from financial experts to put up interest rates for some time. Banks have raised their overdraft rates by ½% and term deposit rates have also risen. Importers describe the new import controls as the severest since licencing was introduced ten years ago; some shortages are expected, and these measures are expected to save R200 m. a year in foreign exchange.

9. The Union's foreign exchange reserves fell to R156.7 m on 5th May, a drop of R12 m. in the preceding two weeks and of R30 m. in the preceding month. Share prices have again fallen, owing to hesitancy in Europe.

BY-ELECTIONS.

10. At a by-election for the House of Assembly in the Johannesburg suburban seat of Hospital, which the National Party did not contest, the United Party defeated the Progressive Party by 1,290 votes on a 43 per cent. poll. In a second contest between the United and Progressive Parties, this time for a Provincial seat at Constantia in Cape Province, the United Party polls 6,007 votes to the Progressive Party's 2,348 on a 62 per cent. poll.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

131

INWARD SAVINGRAM

I.1324

11. At a further by-election for the House of Assembly in the Cape rural seat of Swellendam, the National Party defeated the United Party by 1,796 votes on a 90 per cent. poll. The National Party majority showed a rise of practically 50 per cent. over their majority in 1958, and maintained the majority in favour of a Republic in the 1960 Referendum in this seat.

NATIONAL PARTY.

12. The Prime Minister, in an interview with "Die Burger". on 6th May, said that recent by-elections showed growing public support for his party's policy as it is now applied. It was, therefore, the duty of the party to go ahead and disregard deviators. The press has reported meetings of National Party officials in the Cape Province for consultations on policy. There have been persistent reports in the English-language press of meetings among dissident members of the party; but observers say that the Afrikaners of the countryside still show no concern about the prospect of some form of showdown with the non-European, and indeed in many cases almost welcome it.

WARMBATHS.

13. Demonstrations occurred among residents of the African location at Warmbaths in the Northern Transvaal on 29th and 30th April, following the reinstatement of the unpopular Manager of the location who had been under suspension while on trial for a criminal offence of which he has now been acquitted. The police fired on Africans throwing stones at them on 30th April and two were killed. The location gradually returned to normal on 2nd and 3rd May, after the Manager was suspended again pending a full enquiry (which will begin on 15th May).

CITIZENSHIP.

14. A South African Citizenship Amendment Bill has been introduced in Parliament, to make a number of amendments in citizenship legislation in implementation of several decisions previously announced by the Government (particularly to facilitate the return to South Africa of former South Africans who have left the country, and to simplify the procedure for registration and naturalisation). The Bill provides that Commonwealth citizens who in future become registered as South African citizens will take an oath of allegiance to the Republic, but does not otherwise affect the status of Commonwealth citizens in the Union. The Prime Minister said on 9th May that the Government was considering legislation against South Africans who go abroad and act in a manner amounting to disloyalty to the Union; but would for the time being defer promised legislation against persons who may last year have signed the Ghanaian declaration of opposition to apartheid.

SIERRA LEONE.

15. In answer to a Parliamentary question, the Government has said that South Africa was invited to attend the Sierra Leone Independence Celebrations but decided to send merely a congratulatory telegram.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I.12924

130

INWARD SAVINGRAM

MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
A/MIN. & DEPT. DEFENCE.
J.I.C.
MIN. & DEPT. TERRITORIES.
MIN. & DEPT. TRADE (C)
TREASURER & TREASURY.
ATTORNEY-GENERAL & DEPT.
MIN. & DEPT. IMMIGRATION.

24th May, 1961.

SEC A/Ss UN PAC&AM AM&SP S&SEA SA SEA
E.AF&ME E AF@ ME INF DL INTELL

ACCRA COLOMBO KARACHI KUALA LUMPUR LONDON
NEW DELHI LAGOS CAIRO NEW YORK(UN) OTTAWA
PARIS ROME TEL AVIV WASHINGTON WELLINGTON

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CONFIDENTIAL

(44)

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY MISSION
BERLIN

129

Berlin Memorandum No. 247.

28th November, 1960.

File No. 201/2/2/1.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

THE D.D.R'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS

In our memorandum No. 187 we reported internal problems ~~concerning~~ confronting the S.E.D. regime and the steps it had taken to eliminate them; that is mainly the dismissal of senior officials in the regional party organizations. Evidence that these problems have not been completely solved is given by the recent decision by the Politburo to call in and re-issue all party membership books and candidate cards during December and January.

2. In some circles this action was viewed as a purge, but since new cards were last issued in 1951, this is probably over-stating the case. In 1951 a similar action was taken when 150,000 members and candidates were dropped from the party rolls and it is probably considered timely to check on the enthusiasm of the party in the present membership of 1,700,000. The present roll no doubt includes registrations of a number of deceased persons or of those no longer resident in the D.D.R: an exchange of cards is the obvious means of eliminating these.

3. The procedure for the exchange of cards will involve attendance at two meetings of ~~their~~ local party organizations at which "all questions connected with the exchange of party documents will be discussed." These meetings will also consider "how the party's work among the people and how co-operation in the local organization's activity can be improved in the light of Staatsrat Chairman Ulbricht's programme declaration." New party documents will be issued to members and candidates only when their local organizations have so recommended and the competent higher party organ has been convinced "of the completeness and correctness of the basis for the comrade's party membership."

4. Although the first and second secretaries of Mark-Brandenburg district had been recently dismissed, there have been no recent signs of disaffection or deviationism amongst the higher ranks of district officials. It would therefore seem that the regime is creating an opportunity not to conduct a purge, but to weed out from party membership all those who have given insufficient indication of enthusiasm for the party's work; that is opportunists and political camp-followers who do not, to quote a text of the announcement on the exchange of cards "lead the party to even closer ties with the mass of the people and to greater fighting strength on the basis of democratic centralism and strict observance of inner party democracy."

5. A copy of this memorandum has been sent to Bonn.

30/2

(Sgd.) H. D. White
(H.D. WHITE)
First Secretary.

cmj - 30/2/5/1

CONFIDENTIAL

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CONFIDENTIAL

(45) 128

TELEGRAMS: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"
TELEPHONE: 2-1576
REFERENCE NO. 202/10

PERSONAL

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.
7TH FLOOR, NORTHVAAL,
VERMEULEN STREET,
PRETORIA.

201/2/2/1

1st September, 1960

I was most interested to have your letter of the 15th August attaching a Record of Conversation between yourself and Brian Hill on the one hand and Hamilton on the other hand. On the whole the comments seem interesting and valuable but I have minor reservations in relation to one or two points.

With regard to paragraph (1) of the record of conversation my own impression is that it would be a mistake to generalize about South Africa feeling "so isolated or so bewildered". I think the extreme section of the National Party is almost seeking isolation and will be quite happy to be out of the Commonwealth. They are quite prepared to retreat into their laager and defy the outside world. The bewilderment perhaps over-laps the national groups but is more common among the English-speaking. The sense of isolation has not struck home as deeply yet as may will do later if South Africa has to leave. At present, despite the boycotts and substantial fall in foreign exchange balances, the bulk of the population is doing pretty well economically. I do not see the "winds of change" greatly effecting the average citizen until they start to flap his empty pocket.

With regard to paragraph (3) there does not yet appear to have been any leak here regarding the pressure on Hammarskjoeld by the Union Government to postpone his visit because of the referendum campaign.

With regard to paragraph (4) I think Hamilton may be a little over-optimistic on the referendum. The crux of the matter, as I have mentioned in my recent despatch, seems to be whether or not the anti-republicans can persuade enough of the English-speaking population to come out and vote. My anti-republican contacts at present are rather pessimistic.

With regard to paragraph (5), my view is that if the Government wins the referendum Dr. Verwoerd will take the opportunity to consolidate his position by removing a few Cabinet Ministers such as the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Tom Naude, possibly the Minister for Agriculture, Dr. le Roux and may be another, either by retiring them or giving them appointments to diplomatic positions abroad. I cannot see a middle of the road coalition of Cape Nationalists with United Party. I do not regard this as "a very real possibility". What I do foresee, however, is that there will be some increased pressure from the moderate elements of the National Party, particularly from 'Die Burger' in Cape Town, for a moderation of native policy. This may have some effect and more especially in the light of the forecasts of Hamilton in your paragraph (6).

With regard to paragraph (6), the forecast of a rapprochement with the Coloureds has already been indicated publicly, though with no indication of what form this might take. With regard to the Indians, I had not heard anything and in the light of past history, the Indians might refuse.

CONFIDENTIAL

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CONFIDENTIAL 127

It is interesting, however, that in the Johannesburg 'Star' of the 29th August, Jan Burger, who is an Afrikaner, wrote in his "An Afrikaner's Diary", that he had made an investigation in high Government circles as to what the future holds after the referendum. He said: "Soon after the republican issue is finalized, the Government is going to come with some revolutionary steps. I am told that they are withholding announcement because they do not want to influence voters in the referendum one way or the other. The Cabinet have discussed everything, I learned, but they feel that some of the measures which they intend introducing may be taken as concessions after Sharpeville, a sign of weakness. They prefer to announce these steps next year as new points of policy and not concessions. The first point on the Government's programme of positive action after a republic is giving English-speaking South Africans a direct say in the Cabinet through the appointment of two or three English-speaking members. The Government also intend to establish a number of outstanding parallel-medium schools in strategic places in the country for the benefit of people who want their children to learn the other language by mixing with the children in the social and playing spheres. The next step is to bring about a "new deal" for the Coloureds probably by giving them direct repres&ntation in Parliament through their own M.P's. The policy of job reservation, as far as Coloureds are concerned, is also being considered. Regarding the urban native, definite efforts will be made to give them more responsibility in running their municipal affairs. Deserving native men and women will not have to carry reference books any more but only identity cards as all Whites will be compelled to carry from next year. Relaxation in the liquor laws has already been promised as well as the stopping of organized pass raids. I am told that the pockets of taxpayers are going to be tapped in no uncertain way from next year to develop the Bantustan territories. "

A copy of the above is being sent to Mr. Plimsoll.

R.L. Harry Esq., O.B.E.,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

CONFIDENTIAL

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

TELEGRAMS: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA."
TELEPHONE:

In reply quote No. 201/4
Memo No. 285

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION,
7TH FLOOR, NORTHVAAL,
VERMEULEN STREET,
PRETORIA.

10th June, 1960

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET

There has been some speculation in the English language press in South Africa over the last week or two regarding the possibility of a reshuffle of the Cabinet. The suggested reasons are twofold. One is that four top diplomatic positions are about to be vacant, namely, Washington, London, Paris and The Hague. This might well involve one or more Members of Cabinet being appointed to fill such positions. The second suggested reason is that the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, is believed to want a reshuffle in order to move out certain elements in Cabinet which "softened" during the period since Sharpeville. The Prime Minister was also alleged to be anxious to increase the balance in Cabinet in favour of the Transvaal as against the Cape Province.

2. Press speculation suggests the following possible changes. Mr. Naude, Minister of the Interior, might be appointed as President of the Senate. Mr. Sauer, after his Humansdorp speech, might be a candidate for one of the overseas diplomatic positions. It was also suggested that Mr. P.M.K. le Roux, Minister of Agriculture and Technical Services, might be appointed High Commissioner in London.

3. The retiring Ambassador in Washington, Mr. W.J. du Plessis, is expected to return to politics later this year. He was a career diplomat before and during the last war. He defeated General Smuts for the Standerton electorate during the 1948 elections. He has served four years in the United States. With this background he is strongly tipped as a understudy for Mr. Louw as Minister for External Affairs.

3. Another possible retirement is Mr. Mentz, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, for health reasons.

(O.L. Davis)
High Commissioner

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

TELEGRAMS "AUSTCOM PRETORIA."
TELEPHONE: 2-0854.

125

In reply quote No. 202/10

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION,
CENTRAL HOUSE, PRETORIUS STREET,
PRETORIA.

Memo. No. 596

11th December, 1959.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

THE REPUBLIC

A recent article in "Die Nataller" by Mr. Theo. Gerdener, the leader of the National Party in the Natal Provincial Council, has dealt with the differences within the National Party regarding the type of republic South Africa should adopt. In defiance of Dr. Verwoerd's injunction to his supporters not to discuss in public the details of the republic this article, as well as a report in "Die Burger", has openly revealed the disagreement in Nationalist circles over whether the president of the republic should have powers like the American president and on the question of Commonwealth membership. It would appear that the moderate group, which has the support of the Cape Nationalists including Dr. Donges, is trying to force Dr. Verwoerd out into an open declaration on these vital questions. Subsequently, "Die Vaderland" - a Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper, published a report supporting a republic which would not introduce any "drastic changes from the present constitutional principles".

2. Mr. Gerdener criticised the tendency of Nationalists to use the republic as "a hat-rack for many other things" such as constitutional reform, Sabbath laws, the defence system, press control, the new flag etc.. He pointed out that although the National Party is united on the fact that South Africa must become a republic as soon as possible, the members are divided on the "non-essentials" that are involved e.g. membership of the Commonwealth, executive-type president, a federal constitution with entrenched rights etc.. Mr. Gerdener warned that the enemies of the republic were attempting to delay the adoption of a republic by stimulating ideas on these "non-essentials". Mr. Gerdener claimed that the "non-essentials" should be decided through the channels of Congresses as they are not part of party policy. He said that the National Party republican aspiration in the past had never been linked to constitutional or structural changes and all the programme of principles asked was "a special and definite mandate from the electorate".

3. Mr. Gerdener suggested that "the greatest possible number of votes for a republic ... will be obtained for the simplest and slightest change of form, and this is the replacement of the Governor-General by a president who has the same powers and functions as the former". He added that not only Nationalists would vote for this and if the electorate was prepared rapidly for no more than this as a first step, South Africa would be a republic within foreseeable time.

4. The Johannesburg "Star's" comment is that Mr. Gerdener, "with engaging naiveté", is proposing to dodge all the difficulties by seeking support for a republic as nearly as possible like the present system. But it warned that this was rather like the spider asking the fly to step into its parlour. What Mr. Gerdener is suggesting "would simply be the prelude to a whole string of further agitations aimed at moulding the new constitution into something nearer the heart's desire of the republican extremists. Mr. Gerdener's plan amounts to a disingenuous invitation to South Africans to hand the Government a blank cheque to fill in as they please when they have managed to compose or override their party differences. There is only one answer to this sort of fatuity - 'Aikona.' (NO!!!!)"

→ 201/2/2/1
(Mfy on 20/1/2)

(L.E. Phillips)
FIRST SECRETARY

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

124

..MMc

INWARD SAVINGRAM

1.22641

Dated: 30th November 1959
Rec'd: 8th December 1959

201/2/2/1

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
P R E T O R I A.

SAVING 26. UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.
(16th-29th November, 1959.)

DEATH OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

1. His Excellency, Dr. E.G. Jansen, died on 24th November. Press forecasts suggest that a successor will be appointed in the near future. The Chief Justice, the Hon. L.C. Steyn, has been sworn in as Officer Administering the Government. (See separate memorandum.)

SOUTH AFRICA AND AFRICAN STATES.

2. It has been reported that Mr. Eric Louw, Minister for External Affairs, will visit other territories besides Ghana when he makes his African tour in 1960. It appears that one of the territories he will visit will be Abyssinia.

VISIT OF UNITED KINGDOM PRIME MINISTER.

3. Mr. Harold Macmillan will visit the Union next January at the invitation of Dr. H. Verwoerd. The press has speculated on the significance of the visit in relation to the question of a Republic for South Africa. (See memorandum.)

DEFENCE OF THE UNION.

4. At a banquet to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Commando system the Minister of Defence, Mr. Erasmus, said that twelve new tank and infantry regiments equipped with Saracens and Ferrets are to be posted in strategic areas to defend the Union "in its hour of need". This follows a recent Cabinet announcement of agreement in principle to the formation of three Mobile Watch Battalions in addition to the one already stationed in Potchefstroom.

JUDGE-PRESIDENT OF THE TRANSVAAL.

5. Mr. Justice F.L. Rumpff, presiding judge at the treason trial, has been appointed Judge-President of the Transvaal.

MINEWORKERS AND THE NATIONAL PARTY.

6. In a joint statement issued in Welkom on 19th November, 26 mineworkers said that mineworkers paid heavy taxes to finance the "idealistic policies" of the Government.... "Because the Government blindly accepts the support of the

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

miners it neglects our interests. The only way we can try to change this position is to withdraw our support from the Government".

7. The United Party has claimed that the 26 have announced their intention of joining the United Party, and considers that this is the fore-runner of a general political landslide and a sign that the worker is losing confidence in the National Party. The United Party statement continued: "At the same time he fears the far-reaching effects of the policy of the Progressive Party and he is now awakening to the fact that the United Party, with its moderate outlook and stabilising influence, can provide the security he is looking for. He is now beginning to clamour to come back to the United Party and, with the removal of the liberal influence, he finds the door wide open to him.". It will be recalled that a falling-off in National Party support at the recent provincial elections was registered in the gold-field area.

8. Since the statement of 19th November it has been reported a further 15 National Party supporters have renounced their party membership and have pledged their support of the United Party.

9. Although the United Party is claiming these malcontents as adherents, it is by no means certain that they are severing their connections with the National Party.

TREASON TRIAL.

10. On application of both Crown and the defence, the treason trial was adjourned until January 18th, 1960.

NATAL DEPUTY-DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

11. A full bench of the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, found against the Administrator in the matter of sustaining the appointment of Mr. Stander and, at the Administrator's request, made an order appointing Mr. Stander to the post as from 1st January, 1959. The Court held that the Administrator and Executive Committee had no choice but to carry out the Public Service Commission's recommendation.

12. Following the court order, the four members who resigned on 3rd November over the Stander issue were re-elected to the Executive Committee. They issued a statement re-affirming Mr. Stander's unacceptability and also gave an assurance that education in Natal would be "rigidly in conformity with the wishes of parents as reflected in the recent provincial elections".

IMPORT CONTROL CHANGES.

13. Now that the Union's gold and foreign exchange reserves have reached the satisfactory level of £148,000,000, it is suggested that drastic modification of import controls will soon follow.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD 3. SAVINGRAM

122

I.22641

DECIDUOUS FRUIT BOARD.

14. The Deciduous Fruit Board handled a record volume of fruit in the last season, but gross income dropped by £1 million to £10½ million because of strong competition and lower prices.

MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. DEFENCE.
J.I.C.
ATTORNEY-GENERAL & DEPT.
MIN. & DEPT. TRADE (C=S=M)
MIN. & DEPT. PRIMARY INDUSTRY (C=M)
MIN. & DEPT. N.D.
TREASURY.
P.M.'s DEPT.
IMMIGRATION.
E.P.I.C.
P.M.'s.

8th December, 1959.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

THIS PAGE IS REPRODUCED FROM A BADLY FADED OR ILLEGIBLE SOURCE.
SCANNING THIS ITEM AT A HIGHER RESOLUTION WILL NOT IMPROVE ITS LEGIBILTY.

INWARD SAVING

201/2/1

(42)

:JT I.20456

Dated: 2nd November, 1959.
Rec'd: 9th November, 1959.

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
PRETORIA.

SAV24. UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
(19th October - 1st November, 1959)

MR. J. D. du P. BASSON, M.P.

1. Mr. J. D. du P. Basson, M. P. for Namib, South West Africa, was expelled from membership of the National Party by the Head Committee in South West Africa on 26th October. Mr. Basson said he would not resign from Parliament. In the Head Committee there was lack of unanimity on the question and the result appears to have been the result of pressure for conformity from Pretoria.

MR. H. G. LAWRENCE, M.P.

2. Mr. Harry Lawrence, M.P., stated on 26th October that he had joined the Progressives. Mr. Lawrence is reported by Stanley Uys in the "Sunday Times" of 25th October as seeing a vision of a "greater South Africa" - a merging of the Union, the Territories and the Rhodesian Federation, after the Union has adopted a more enlightened racial policy.

3. In a statement on 20th October, Mr. Lawrence said: "We are forced, on grounds of realism and of wisdom, to accept not only the multi-racial composition of the Union but also the irresistible implications of a multi-racial state, if we want any sort of a future for ourselves and for our children....Realism demands that we take note of awakened Africa."

REPUBLIC

4. Mr. Fritz Steyn, M.P., in an article in "Dagbreek en Sondagnuus" on 25th October said that it was only a question of when and how before a republic was declared and no longer a question of whether the majority was sufficient. He said that the Provincial elections had shown that the people for a second time in 18 months have called for and demanded a republic.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

5. The press has welcomed the more moderate approach of India and Uruguay on South West Africa in the United Nations. It has also underlined the advantages gained by South Africa participating in the debates and putting its point of view.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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INVITATION TO MR. LOUW FROM GHANA

6. Press comment on the invitation to Mr. Louw to visit Ghana suggests that he would not have accepted if he were not confident that the Union Cabinet would agree to receive a visit from a representative from Ghana in return.

LUTULI AND THE A.N.C.

7. Chief Albert Lutuli on 24th October, as President of the African National Congress, called on Zulu men to follow the example of their women in peacable demonstrations against Government policies. His speech, which was read for him at the annual conference of A.N.C., also claimed that by overwhelming peaceful pressure throughout the country Natives in the Union could win all their demands for freedom. "We do not preach the use of non-violent methods for the benefit of our enemies but for the benefit of our own people and for the ultimate benefit of our multi-racial society."

RACE RELATIONS

8. The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg stated on 25th October that the deterioration in race relations in South Africa was alarming. He described the Bantustan policy as "a shabby confidence trick" and a "hollow sham". He regarded it as inconceivable that any great urban population of Africans would indefinitely submit voluntarily to their domination by others.

PROFESSOR MATTHEWS

9. Professor Z. K. Matthews, Vice-Principal of Fort Hare University College, was offered continuation of his employment by the Department of Bantu Education. Acceptance of the post under the Department would have meant resignation from the African National Congress. On 28th October Professor Matthews announced his resignation from the University College.

ARMY PROMOTIONS

10. The Minister of Defence has causedsome surprise by promoting Brigadier R. C. Hiemstra to the post of Inspector-General of the Forces with the rank of Major-General. Brigadier Hiemstra has seen no active service, having refused to take theoath to go beyond the borders of the Union during World War II. He is now second in line for the top post of Commandant-General.

THE IMMORALITY ACT

11. Concern is being expressed in South Africa regarding the increasing number of offences against the Immorality Act which makes intercourse between Whites and non-Whites an offence. The majority of cases have been Afrikaners and the Afrikaans press has been accusing the English-speaking press of deliberately highlighting if not exaggerating the situation. However, the "Transvaler" on 21st October admitted that many letters were being received from people perturbed about the number of cases. It suggested

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that the only solution to miscegenation was the greatest possible separation between Whites and non-Whites.

BANISHMENT OF MRS. MAFEKENG

12. An African woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, of Paarl, mother of 11 children, has been banished with her youngest child to a farm in the Vryburg district. Her banishment under the Native Administration Act is interpreted as a warning to other African women who engage in activities in opposition to the apartheid policy. Mrs. Mafekeng is president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union at Paarl, and Vice-President of the Women's League of the African National Congress.

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. TERRITORIES 10th November, 1959.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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201/2/2/1

RESTRICTED

I.17068.

LS. Sent: 21st September, 1959.

Rec'd: 25th September, 1959.

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
PRETORIA..

SAV.21 RESTRICTED.

Summary of events in South Africa.
(5th September - 20th September, 1959).

The Republic.

At the Transvaal Congress of the National Party, a number of speakers disclosed a measure of impatience with the Government for not naming a date for the Republic. Despite these views a resolution was adopted accepting Dr.Verwoerd's statement that "the republic will come as soon as possible".

2. At the Bloemfontein National Party Congress, the Prime Minister said that the time for a Republic was near but that it would be unwise to make the change to coincide with the Union Festival in 1960. He considered that the propaganda against the National Party was based on fear and suspicion that the English language would disappear. "This suspicion", he said, "is due to the fact that we are not a republic. I believe that if South Africa were a republic and the people were to see that it is democratic and that the language rights of both groups are retained, the welding together of the people will come about. I do not believe we must wait very much longer. The longer we wait the greater will become the hinderances, the more the solution to our colour problem will be made difficult. That is why I say the time is near".

3. Referring to the need for mutual agreement on various aspects of the Republic, Dr.Verwoerd said "Above everything we must do it in such a way that it will gain the utmost support. That does not mean a long post-ponement. A republic is necessary. It can come quickly. I do not want to bind it to the Union Festival. But I will not delay unnecessarily because I know the only way peace can be achieved in South Africa is through a republic".

4. A resolution calling for certain safeguards, particularly the safeguard for equal language rights, to be entrenched in the constitution for the future republic and the withdrawal of the sovereignty in Parliament - the people to have the final say in the future republic was withdrawn. After delegates had deplored any discussion on the constitutional details of the future Republic because it would only result in disagreement, Dr.Verwoerd expressed the hope that there would be no [illegible] constitutional proposals for a republic put forward.

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The Senate.

5. In an address to the Transvaal Congress of the National Party in Pretoria on 16th September, the Prime Minister said that five recommendations from a Cabinet sub-committee will be incorporated in legislation for the reform of the Senate at the next session of Parliament. These recommendations are:-

1. A reduction in the size of the Senate from 90 to 50.
2. Proportionate representation in each province, but with a maximum and minimum number for each province.
3. A system which will give minority groups a chance of representation.
4. Appointed Senators to supplement the elected members for each province to be nominated by the Government for their knowledge of affairs and with an equal number for each province.
5. Senators representing South West Africa and the Coloured people to stay.

Mr. Harry Lawrence and the United Party.

6. Mr. Harry Lawrence, leading Opposition speaker in Parliament and a former Minister of Justice, has announced his resignation from the United Party. He has indicated that his decision to resign had its origin well beyond the recent congress in Bloemfontein, and that if he had been present there he would have been compelled by conviction to resign. He also expressed the hope that Sir de Villiers Graaff might decide to join the "Progressives". (See our despatch No. 4/59 of 21st of September 1959.)

Provincial Elections.

7. Nominations for the elections closed on 10th September when, for the first time, the National Party had more candidates returned unopposed than the United Party - 52 for the National Party as compared with 31 for the United Party. The Nationalists nominated 121 candidates, and the United Party 117 for the 172 Provincial Council seats in the Union. Three independent Progressives will contest Natal seats.

The English Language in South Africa

8. In his speech (part of which was delivered in English) to the Transvaal Nationalist Congress on 16th September, the Prime Minister said that, contrary to statements often made that the Nationalists hated the English and wished to destroy the English Language, the Nationalists "acknowledge the value of English as a language .... it is unwise for any Afrikaans parent to deny his children the opportunity to learn English".

9. He maintained that the Government's proposed uniform education policy would make it obligatory for all schools to turn out bilingual students and that parents would be given a voice in the control of schools.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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10. Dr. Verwoerd also said he greatly valued the friendship Great Britain had shown to South Africa, especially at the United Nations and in the field of economics and markets.

Overseas Borrowing

11. It is reported that Dr. Donges, Minister of Finance, who has left the Union to attend the annual meetings of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, visited Germany and that he may have been investigating the possibility of a German loan for South Africa. Earlier this year Dr. Donges told Parliament that the Government hoped to borrow £28 million abroad, "partly by the renewal of existing loans falling due and partly by new loans". So far £12 million has been raised from abroad.

African National Congress.

12. At a meeting of the Transvaal National Congress on 17th September, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, in reply to a resolution calling for stricter measures against Communism, said that a total ban on the African National Congress was unlikely but that more bannings of African National Congress leaders and stricter limitations on their movements and activities can be expected.

Ex-Chief Luthuli and the Natal Demonstrations

13. A statement from ex-Chief Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress delivered at a meeting of the Natal People's Congress on 7th September, read: "We may have no rights to bring about the desired South Africa through the ballot box, but if we marshal our buying power and labour power we may induce White South Africa to mend its ways".

14. Referring to recent demonstrations in Natal, Luthuli claimed that "The African National Congress had adopted the policy of using extra-parliamentary methods of struggle but strictly on the basis of non-violence. This policy had been adopted deliberately, following a profound study and experience of the South African situation".

15. A statement by Dr. G.M. Naicker President of the South African Indian Congress, persuading both the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress not to be overwhelmed by their emotions was also read. Denying the accusations that the African National Congress was the 'fomentor' of the recent incidents in which the women were concerned, Dr. Naicker stated that the African National Congress worked under 'tremendous restraint' and it firmly believed in the efficiency of the principle of non-violence.

South West Africa

16. At a congress of the United National South West Africa Party on 10th September, the leader of the Party, Mr. J.P. de M. Niehaus, warned teachers about participating in party politics - exclusively National Party politics. A resolution was also passed criticising the administration for inadequate facilities for mother-tongue education in English and German.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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Expulsion of Mr.H.Barzilay.

17. Further to our Memorandum 398, Mr.Henry Barzilay, the United Kingdom citizen in question, was served deportation orders and left the Union on 19th September. An official said that the deportation was a reproof to the information and radio companies overseas for which Mr.Barzilay worked.

Social Apartheid at Witwatersrand University

18. At an extraordinary general meeting of the University Convocation of the English-medium Witwatersrand University, a resolution was adopted favouring the extension of social and sporting facilities to non-White students at the University.

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A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. DEFENCE.
TREASURY
TRADE (C.M.)
IMMIGRATION
E.P.I.O.

25th September, 1959.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1.

(47)
114

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CW

INWARD SAVINGRAM.

I.16033

Dated: 5th September, 1959.

Rec'd: 11th September, 1959.

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
PRETORIA.

SAV.20. UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.
(25th August - 4th September, 1959)

COALITION BETWEEN UNITED PARTY AND NATIONAL PARTY.

1. Addressing a meeting in support of the National Party candidate for Worcester, Mr. S.L.Muller, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Finance, Dr. Donges, rejected the idea of a coalition between the conservative members of the United Party and the National Party. Dr. Donges said there were only two bases for a coalition - either integration or separate development, i.e. apartheid. The former basis was unacceptable to the National Party, while a coalition on the latter basis was superfluous. He remarked that, although there had been a split in the United Party, there had been no difference between the two factions in principle, but merely a question of one faction wanting to go ahead faster than the other. Conservatism could not exist in the United Party while it followed the stated policies on the Coloured voters' roll and the extension of the Natives' franchise in the northern provinces.

REPUBLIC.

2. At the same meeting the Prime Minister maintained that he and Dr. Donges stood together in the closest co-operation and that it was useless for the United Party to attempt to drive a wedge between them.

3. On the question of a republic he said: "If there is any task which we realise should be achieved as soon as possible, then it is the establishment of a republic. And this we shall do at a time when we consider the time appropriate." He said that the step would be of lasting effect and maintained that the establishment of a republic was the easiest task of the National Party. "We shall ask the people for the support of a republic when we consider the time is right. When the republic is achieved it will be there", he said. In the meantime, no matter when the republic was established, whether in the next ten or twenty years, it was necessary to concentrate on the relations between White and non-White.

UNION'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN STATES.

4. Mr. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, who is attending a conference of South African information attaches at The Hague, is reported to have told a press conference

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

that he favoured close co-operation with the Black states of Africa in the interests of the entire continent. He said he expected diplomatic relations to be established between the Union and other African states, but warned that "after 300 years our own population must first get used to the idea".

GROUP AREAS PLAN FOR THE CISKEI.

5. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel, has announced that the Group Areas plan for the Ciskei has been withdrawn because the plan proved to be unrealistic and involved moving large numbers of European farmers, Natives and Coloureds. The plan had been to turn the Ciskei (an area behind East London) into a Bantustan surrounding White towns with a White coastal strip and White corridors up the main road and railway. The plan would have included the Buffalo River catchment area in the Native area.

6. The Minister's announcement has been interpreted as a pre-provincial election move because of fears that Fort Beaufort, a Nationalist seat in the area, would swing to the United Party.

NATAL PROVINCE AND THE DEPUTY-DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

7. The Government has decided to test the Natal Provincial Council's refusal to accept the nomination of Mr. J.H.Stander as Deputy-Director of Education in Natal (our Memorandum 327) in court, probably by an application to the Supreme Court in Natal for a writ of mandamus to compel the Natal Provincial Council to appoint Mr. Stander.

8. Mr. D.E.Mitchell, M.P., Chairman of the United Party in Natal, has replied that Natal must not yield on the issue and that it appeared that the Government, "having found itself in a completely untenable position, will seek to make the issue sub-judice during the (provincial) election period". By doing so, he said, it also seemed that that Government was creating an opportunity to introduce legislation in the next Parliament to bring Natal to heel on the question of parental control of education.

UNREST IN NATAL.

9. A further outbreak of violence occurred at Cato Manor on 30th August when a bus was burned, police cars stoned and attempts made to burn a school. The mob had gathered when an Indian bus had knocked down and killed an African. Police cars were stoned on 2nd September by Natives in Durban, and one African woman was arrested.

10. The Chief of the Security Branch of the South African Police, Col. Prinsloo, will shortly visit Natal to investigate the situation.

POTATO BOYCOTT.

11. Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, President- General of the African National Congress, announced on 30th August the lifting of the A.N.C. boycott on potatoes. He said that the Congress Alliance had concurred in this action. The boycott had contributed to a glut of third-grade potatoes.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

NATIONAL PARTY PROVINCIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

12. The launching of the National Party's provincial election campaign in Maritzburg, Natal, by the Prime Minister on 4th September was marked by disorders and tussles between his supporters and their opponents who appear to have been mostly students. The disorders, which began with a picket on the main road into Maritzburg, which the Prime Minister by-passed when he entered the town, continued all day.

CABINET CHANGES.

13. Speculation is growing that the Prime Minister will make changes in his Cabinet fairly soon. Those included on a "short list" whom observers consider may be dismissed or retire are the Minister of the Interior, Mr. J.F.Naude; the Minister of Lands, Mr. P.O.Sauer; the Minister of Education, Mr. J.J.Serfontein; and the Minister of Defence, Mr. F.C.Erasmus. It has also been hinted that Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, may also be dropped.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNION.

14. It is reported that the Union Secretary of Education, Mr. J.L.Op't Hof, is discussing, inter alia, the question of Dutch emigration to South Africa with Dutch authorities in Holland.

RACE RELATIONS.

15. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Reverend D.E.Hurley, told a symposium in Pretoria that there were only two possible solutions to the South African racial problem: integration and partition. Integration was well on the way; partition had not reached the stage of serious debate and was politically impossible. He said that the integrationists would have little chance to develop fully their policy because changes would be brought about too quickly by non-European pressure from without and within. He said: "Two years ago, I gave South Africa 25 years, three months ago I gave it 10 years, now I do not know by how much further to reduce the period".

16. The Archbishop urged that non-Whites who qualify for advancement should be given a real stake in the development of the country, to dissuade them from the advocacy of unreasonable and destructive policies. He urged Catholics to find ways of establishing contact with other races, through the loopholes still left in the law. Humanly speaking, the situation was tragic, he said; short of a miracle an immensity of trouble lay ahead. He concluded: "The most we can hope to accomplish is the doing of deeds that will contribute to making the final result a little less bad than it might have been if they were left undone."

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. TRADE (C-S-M)
MIN. & DEPT. PRIMARY INDUSTRY (C-M)
TREASURY
IMMIGRATION

14th September, 1959.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

20/1/2/2/1
111

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD SAVINGRAM.

SDP

I:18411

Dated:18th October, 1958.

FROM:

Rec'd:23rd October, 1958.

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN.

SAVINGRAM 45. UNCLASSIFIED.

Summary of Events in South Africa.
(4th - 17th October, 1958).

Treason Trial.

When the Special Court resumed in Pretoria on 13th October, Crown Counsel (Pirow) applied to amend the indictment, in order to "expedite the case", by the deletion of some 700 documents and references to some 700 speeches, and by adding after a reference to Marxism and Leninism the words "and in which doctrine there is inherent the use of violence to set up any form of Communist state". Pirow stressed that his application was in no way an admission that the indictment was defective. Defence Counsel (Maisel) objected to the application. In the name of the Attorney-General, Pirow then withdrew the indictment. Rumpf J. adjourned the Court, without giving any indication as to the duration of the adjournment (Our memorandum 625).

2. During argument Rumpf J. said that the Attorney-General in preparing the indictment did not seem to have fully considered treason in peace-time, without the accompaniment of violence or rebellion; later, however, he withdrew these remarks, stating that he had made them before having heard the Crown on this point.

3. A new indictment is being prepared. Newspapers have speculated that the case may come before the Supreme Court in Pretoria early in 1959. Consultations are being held between the Minister of Justice (Swart) and the Crown's legal experts. It is not known whether or not the Crown intends to re-indict all the 91 accused.

4. Police of the Special Branch raided a celebration party held by the accused in a private house on the evening of 13th October and confiscated liquor.

Representation in the United Kingdom.

5. The Prime Minister announced on 14th October that Dr. A. J. van Rhijn, Minister of Economic Affairs and Mines and M.P. for the South West African constituency of Windhoek, would succeed Dr. Holloway as South African High Commissioner in London.

6. Dr. Verwoerd told the National Party Congress in Windhoek that he was asking Dr. van Rhijn to make a big sacrifice, because the latter was no longer a young man, and said that he could not thank Dr. van Rhijn enough for agreeing to undertake the task. The British Government, he added, "had welcomed the appointment in such a nice way" that he felt sure Van Rhijn would be welcome in London. Van Rhijn commented that he had not asked to be sent, and "would rather walk the dusty roads of SouthWest Africa than the tarred streets of London" but said that he had heeded the Prime Minister's call.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
~~- 2 - I:~~18411
INWARD SAVINGRAM.

7. Van Rhijn's displacement from Cabinet had been generally expected. The Johannesburg "Star", in an editorial headed 'An Unhappy Choice', said that the appointment would not give much satisfaction to those who rightly regarded the London post as the most important in the Union's diplomatic service, and that either Dr. Verwoerd was too indifferent to Commonwealth links to pay much attention to the importance of the London post, or his difficulties in re-shuffling his Cabinet were greater than they seemed.

Republic

8. There has been much press comment on the Prime Minister's statement at a big Nationalist rally on 2nd October: "Now there remains only one thing, and that is to give the English-speaking section the republic and to show them that we do not want to oppress them". The English-language newspapers have asked whether this means a departure from the previously announced intention to seek a republic "based on the broad will of the people", Dr. Verwoerd told his supporters, however: "Do not try to drive us at the wrong moment. We will put the brake on our own people if injudicious action is urged. You must have patience, faith and confidence in the Government in this matter of a republic".

9. Addressing a subsequent Nationalist rally, the Prime Minister said that in a republic it would be possible for South Africa to show the world her strong ties with Britain, financially and in other spheres. A republic did not mean a breakaway from Britain or the Western world. In many ways it would mean only a change of form. The English-speaking section had nothing to fear if a republic came; their language, cultural and political rights would not be tampered with; but in a republic there could be only one loyalty -- to South Africa. He asked why Natives and Asiatic countries should be able to get their independence, but not South Africa, the most developed nation on the African continent.

10. On 14th October he told a Nationalist congress that everybody knew that South Africa was a sovereign independent country, but the desire for a republic remained. All forms of subservience, including emotional subservience, must be removed. Emotional subservience would persist so long as South Africa shared her head of State with another country.

11. At the Kruger Day celebration in Pretoria (10th October) the Minister of Interior, Dr Dönges, said that the republican constitution developed in Paul Kruger's time would not be entirely suitable for a modern state. After the developments of the last fifty years, the suit that fitted in 1858 or even 1898 would no longer fit without alterations. Kruger, he said, had not regarded the presidency as an instrument of dictatorship; he had strongly opposed any attempts to give more powers to the President, and had insisted that Parliament should be supreme. More had he regarded the presidency and the constitution as instruments for imposing restrictions on political freedom. When the Volksraad or the people had wanted changes, Kruger had thought it his duty to bow to their will, so long as the changes were brought about legally. It had been inconceivable to Kruger, however, that a court of law in any democratic republic could invalidate any law of the Volksraad and thus frustrate the will of a sovereign people.

12. A leading Cape member of the United Party, Graham Eden, said in Kimberley on 9th October that the Union had failed and

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

INWARD SAVINGRAM

and that South Africa should be divided into an Afrikaner Nationalist republic and a federation of the rest of South Africa. The majority of English-language editorials have expressed disagreement with this attitude. The Party's executive has made no comment.

South West Africa Question.

13. Much publicity has been given by South African newspapers to the debates in the United Nations General Assembly's Fourth Committee on the South West Africa issue. Most editorials have expressed sympathy for Louw and support for the line taken by him in the debate, and have asked what have the anti-South African delegations achieved by their attacks. The "Rand Daily Mail", however, has expressed the view that, as the General Assembly is not a court of law but merely a forum for debating moral questions, South Africa should express herself there more clearly and positively regarding the morality of her domestic actions.

14. Dr. Verwoerd said in Windhoek on 14th October that the Union Government had never said that it agreed with the proposal of possible partition of South West Africa made by the United Nations Good Offices Committee. There were indications, however, of a new approach, he said, and he asked the National Party Congress not to discuss the subject any further.

15. The leader of the United South West Africa Party, Niehaus, on his return from a visit to England, said that most Europeans in South West Africa favoured a federal link between South West Africa and the Union of South Africa. He expressed the hope that the European population of the Territory would be consulted before any division of the Territory were made. His party had not yet been asked for an opinion.

External Relations.

16. Dr. Diederichs, a leading National Party M.P., told a Kruger Day rally that South Africa now stood at the most dangerous and critical stage of her history. South Africa was threatened by 200 million non-Whites, who wanted Africa for themselves; by hundreds of millions of Asians, who cast envious eyes on the under-populated spaces of Africa; and by the Communists, who wished to drive the White man out of the continent. Even the United States and various European countries were prepared to sacrifice the three million Whites in South Africa to gain the favour of the Blacks. Notwithstanding those odds, White South Africa should continue along her chosen path.

Bantu Affairs.

17. The importance of the Union's African Natives in the economy has been emphasised by the Minister of Education and Health, Mr. de Wet Nel, who told a meeting of the Afrikaner Chamber of Commerce on 9th October that the buying power of the Bantu in South Africa was now £SA.365 million a year. The yearly pay of the 1,800,000 Natives employed in the building industry, the mines, secondary industries, trade, agriculture, the civil service and the railways, amounted to about £SA.126 million.

18. De Wet Nel added that, since the Government had taken over Native education in 1954, the number of children in Native schools had increased from 700,000 to more than 1,240,000, apart from 83,650 in Roman Catholic schools and 25,258 in other schools. The number of Native traders in the Reserves had risen

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

From 3,871 in 1951 to 6,032 in June, 1958. Since 1954, 18 rural townships had been started for Natives in the Reserves, and the Department of Native Affairs was working on another 47.

Apartheid in Industry.

19. Dr. F. J. de Villiers, Organising Director of Industrial Development in the Union Department of Native Affairs, told a commercial gathering on 15th October that the Government would not force its policy of encouraging industries on the borders of Native Reserves. It would not do anything which would distrub the rate of the country's economic development.

Apartheid in Universities.

20. The Secretary for Education, Mr. Op't Hof, said on 9th October that the Government was negotiating to acquire a site at Athlone (an outer suburb of Capetown, designated under the Group Areas Act as "Coloured") for a university for Coloured (mixed race) people. It was too early to say when building would start. (Last year the previous Minister of Education, Viljoen, said that, like the proposed university in Natal for Indian South Africans, the Coloureds' university would have about 300 students after three years and about 600 after 10 years. Twenty subjects under the headings of Literature, Philosopy, Mathematics and Natural Science would be taught, and there would be courses for a diploma in education. The university would be controlled by the Department of Education as a State institution).

Education.

21. The Minister of Education, De Wet Nel, said in Durban on Kruger Day (10th October) that the time had arrived to give South Africa " a purposeful national education policy", so that present divergent policies could be altered. A National education Act should be passed in which the greater educational principles which were in the interests of South Africa would be entrenched, and wherein provision could be made for the establishment of a national educational advisory council, to give real guidance to the Union Government and the Provinces in educational matters. With this Council it would by no means be the intention to transfer education from the Provinces to the central Government. Several English-language papers have expressed concern lest these and similar recent remarks by the Minister foreshadow measures to introduce a system of State indoctrination along Nationalist lines.

Assembly By-Election.

22. Faced with the probability of defeat in a nomination contest, Senator de Klerk (Minister of Labour) has decided not to stand for election to the Assembly constituency of Waterberg, formerly occupied by Mr. Strijdom. He had been invited by the National Party's divisional committee to do so, and had the backing of the party's central organisation. The local party branch, however, has nominated two local men as candidates in preference to an "Imported" candidate, showing an unusual degree of local independence in Transvaal Nationalist politics.

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPT.

24th October, 1958.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RESTRICTED

INWARD SAV

CM I.15778 201/2/2/1

Dated: 6th September, 1958.

Rec'd: 12th September, 1958.

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN.

SAV.40. RESTRICTED.

Summary of Events in South Africa.
(30th August to 5th September)

Dr. H.F.Verwoerd is the Union's sixth Prime Minister.

The Government is prepared to consider partitioning South-West Africa.

Parliament will rise at the end of September.

The Cabinet is to be enlarged in October.

The University apartheid bill has been shelved until next year.

PRIME MINISTER.

On 2nd September the National Party caucus of 101 Assembly members and 76 Senators met to elect a leader to succeed the late Mr. Strijdom. The Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Swart, was nominated by Senator De Klerk (Labour) and Mr. Schoeman (Transport); the Minister for the Interior, Dr. Donges, by Mr. Erasmus (Defence) and, we believe, Mr. Sauer (Lands); the Minister of Native Affairs (Dr. Verwoerd), by Mr. De Wet Nel (Health and Education) and Senator Vermeulen.

2. In the first ballot the caucus voting was: Dr. Verwoerd 80, Dr. Donges 52, Mr. Swart 41. In the second ballot the voting was: Dr. Verwoerd 98, Dr. Donges 75. The Governor-General, Dr. Jansen, later requested Dr. Verwoerd to form a new cabinet.

3. The caucus election ended a week of intense public speculation and of active lobbying within the National Party, even amid the gestures of respect to the late Prime Minister. During the last few days it became clear that Verwoerd would make a very strong bid for the leadership, and his success surprised few people. Despite the reported desire of 10 out of the 13 Cabinet Ministers that Swart be elected leader, caucus support for him dwindled in favour of Verwoerd or Donges. Most of the Senators supported Verwoerd.

4. The public have accepted the new leader calmly. "Die Transvaler", of which Dr. Verwoerd was the war-time editor, rejoiced in his victory. "Die Burger" (Capetown), however, while extending good wishes was slightly less than

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

cordial. In the English-language press, opinion varied from prophesies of deterioration and dictatorship to the sanguine hope that responsibility would temper Verwoerd's views. All the main newspapers conceded the new leader's integrity, intellectual gifts and capacity for hard work. Some, however, criticised him as doctrinaire, autocratic and inflexible. The "Cape Times" compared him with Prime Minister Salazar of Portugal. The reaction among non-Europeans to his election has on the whole been unenthusiastic, varying from despondency to "wait and see", with a few voices expressing approval.

5. When Parliament resumed on 3rd September, Dr. Verwoerd rejected reports that he would "violate Parliamentary tradition" and said that he would do his best to make the institution of Parliament work smoothly. The Opposition received his speech in silence and extended no congratulations. In a national broadcast later Verwoerd said that it was God's will that he should assume the leadership of the Government at this time. He would devote all his energies to bringing about a republic in South Africa "in such a way and in such a time that it would be lasting". It would always be his aim to uphold South Africa's democratic institutions. The Government's policy of racial separation did not envisage oppression but full opportunities for all; these opportunities could be enjoyed only to the extent to which the people at various stages were capable.

6. Referring to external relations he said that the Government (a) had peaceful intentions and the greatest goodwill towards the outside world, (b) would continue its efforts to maintain the bonds of friendship with South Africa's countries of origin and neighbouring territories, (c) would seek to maintain goodwill in Africa and would assist under-developed states, especially by making available scientific knowledge, (d) would find means of co-operation with the states and territories of Africa which would take into account the considerations and difficulties of the different territories.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

7. The report of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South-West Africa, published on 2nd September, and suggesting partition of the Territory into a northern part under United Nations trusteeship and a southern part integrated with the Union, was prominently featured in the South African press, as was Mr. Louw's statement on it. Mr. Louw paid tribute to the spirit in which the Committee had approached the problem. He said that the Union Government, if asked by the United Nations to do so, would be prepared to investigate the practicability of the suggested partition, and that if inspection proved the project to be practicable the Union Government would be prepared to submit to the United Nations proposals for the partitioning of the territory.

8. Afrikaans and English-language newspapers in the Union have given the Good Offices Committee credit for good conduct, good motives and hard work, and have described

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

the partition proposal, involving transfer of some Native peoples from South to North, as "extremely interesting", "a constructive suggestion", and "possibly a solution". Most of them, however, have observed that many practical difficulties would require extensive investigation in the event of the United Nations General Assembly accepting the proposal in principle. The Parliamentary Opposition has made no public comment.

9. In South-West Africa the English-language "Windhoek Advertiser" has complained that the Territory has been "sold down the river", and has attacked the Union Government for not consulting the people of South-West Africa. The reaction of the German-speaking community in the Territory is also reported to have been on the whole unfavourable.

CABINET.

10. Dr. Verwoerd's Cabinet, sworn in on 3rd September, is the same as Mr. Strijdom's, but with the Prime Minister holding the Native Affairs portfolio. Dr. Verwoerd announced that, in order to relieve Ministers of over-work, a bill would be introduced to enlarge the Cabinet by two Ministers (making 16 in all); and that, after the present Parliamentary session ended, he would relinquish Native Affairs, retaining only the Prime Minister's portfolio himself, and would fill the three vacancies.

11. Some political observers have speculated that Messrs. Maree (Natal) and Carel De Wet (Transvaal) and Dr. Diederichs (Transvaal) might enter the Cabinet, and that Ministers Erasmus, Sauer and Van Rhijn (Economic Affairs) might later be dropped. Other observers have suggested that the strength of caucus support shown for Dr. Donges could operate as a brake on any sweeping reconstruction of the Cabinet. It has also been reported that Senator De Klerk (Labour) may stand for election to the Assembly constituency vacated by Mr. Strijdom.

PARLIAMENT.

12. Parliament has begun three sittings daily in an effort to catch up its timetable, disorganised by Mr. Strijdom's death. For supply reasons, the financial estimates of Departments must be passed by mid-September. The Leader of the Government in the Assembly, Mr. Swart, has announced that the session will end about 30th September and that only non-contentious legislation will now be proceeded with. The bill to establish a Bantu Financial Corporation (for development of the Native Reserves) and the bill to enforce racial segregation in the "open" universities and establish non-European university colleges, have been shelved until the next Parliamentary session, which will begin in January.

RACE RELATIONS.

13. The racial disturbances in Nottingham and Notting Hill have been given great space in the South African press, as has the Little Rock situation. The Afrikaans press has generally taken the line that the disturbances will have had some utility if they succeed in proving to the world,

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

and especially to "the English", that inter-racial contact leads to strife, and that South Africa is tackling her racial problem along the right lines. The English-language papers have been somewhat discomfited by the disturbances, but have conceded that they serve to illustrate the complexity of the problem faced by the Union.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

14. The Government has appointed Mr. F.H. Odendaal, leader of the National Party in the Transvaal Provincial Council, as Administrator of the Transvaal Province, in succession to Dr. Nicol, who retires soon after ten years in that post. Mr. Odendaal, whose appointment is for five years, is one of the National Party's strongest advocates of South Africa withdrawing from membership of the Commonwealth.

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. TERRITORIES 12th September, 1958.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD SAVINGRAM. RESTRICTED

201/2/2/1 103 (39)

I.15338

Sent: 30th August, 1958

Rec'd: 5th September, 1958

BD

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN.

Sav 39. RESTRICTED.

Summary of Events in South Africa.

(23rd to 29th August, 1958)

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The death of Mr. Strijdom overshadowed all other events in the Union.

In the Treason Trial the Court directed the Crown to supply further particulars of the charges.

Mr. Strijdom.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, died in the Volkshospitaal in Cape Town at 4.25 a.m. on Sunday 24th August. During the two previous days his condition had slowly deteriorated. Throughout South Africa flags were flown at half- mast, social and sporting functions were cancelled for the rest of the week, and Parliament adjourned until 3rd Septmber. The Acting Prime Minister Mr. Swart, and the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, delivered panegyrics on the national radio network. In both Houses of Parliament representatives of all groups paid tribute to Mr. Strijdom's idealism, patriotism, determination and strength of character.

2. Messages of condolence were received from the Queen , old Commonwealth Prime Ministers Mr. Nehru Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Governor-General of Ghana and other overseas leaders. In churches of all denominations, including synagogues and mosques, in the Union, many references were made to Mr. Strijdom as a man of strong religious belief. A number of non-European organisations and leaders, including African National Congress President Luthuli, expressed condolences. Innumerable messages of sympathy were sent to Mrs. Strijdom.

3. In the Groote Kerk in Cape Town (the principle building of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa) a State Memorial Service was held on 27th August, attended by Cabinet, heads of diplomatic missions, the judiciary, Members of Parliament, senior civil servants and leading citizens and their wives. A crowd of between 40,000 and 50,000 persons watched the funeral procession from the church to the railway station, in which Cabinet Ministers walked as pall-bearers, and heads of diplomatic missions, Members of Parliament, senior

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD SAVINGRAM. RESTRICTED

officials and leading citizens also took part.

4. Mr. Strijdom's body was taken by train to Pretoria, where a State funeral will take place today. He will be buried near the graves of several Transvaal Republican presidents in a cemetery in Pretoria. Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Home Affairs in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will be the only foreign Cabinet Minister to attend the funeral.

5. The Afrikaans press throughout the Union has conveyed something of the sense of shock of Afrikaners at Mr. Strijdom's death, and has devoted many columns to his life, his work and his personality. The English-language newspapers, while allowing for differences of political opinion from that of Mr. Strijdom's party, have expressed regret at his passing and fully recognised his qualities of strength of character, integrity leadership and self-sacrifice.

New Prime Minister.

6. As of 30th August, the outcome of the National Party caucus meeting scheduled for 2nd September to select a new leader seemed as uncertain as ever. There were suggestions that Mr. Swart might, in the event of strong opposition withdraw his candidature, and there were equally strong denials that he would even consider doing so. There were speculations that Dr. Verwoerd already had a majority of the 176 caucus votes "in the bag", and there were claims that Dr. Donges was making a late run with increasing strength. It was being freely predicted that the contest would lie between Dr. Verwoerd on the one hand and either Mr. Swart or Dr. Donges on the other. The possibility of a first and second ballot being held for the leadership was also mentioned.. According to one report, the balance of votes depended on about six undecided members of caucus. United Party members were privately inclined to think that Dr. Verwoerd would be elected.

7. "Die Transvaler", of which Dr. Verwoerd was the war-time editor, was backing Dr. Verwoerd, and "Die Burger" (Cape Town), Dr. Donges. Several Nationalist newspapers conceding the existence of sharp internal differences in the party felt it necessary to make a plea for the preservation of the party's unity.

Treason Trial.

8. On 27th August the Special Court rejected the defence application to quash the whole indictment, but it directed the Crown to supply to the defence certain further particulars in connection with the charges, and it quashed the first alternative charge (contravention of Section 11(a) of Suppression of Communism Act, 1950). If the Crown should refuse to supply the further particulars, the Court would again hear the application to quash the indictment.

9. The Court held that the accused had not been supplied with such particulars as the substantial justice of the case required. The Court directed that, inter alia each accused should be informed in respect of which alleged overt acts committed by a co-accused he would not be held liable for. It said that the possibility of separate trials at a later date was not excluded. The court granted the Crown's application for

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD SAVINGRAM. RESTRICTED

an adjournment until 29th September. (See our Memorandum 521)

The United States and Africa.

10. The Nomination of Mr. Joseph Satterthwaite as head of the newly-created Africa Bureau within the United States State Department, and the establishment during the week of the £SA.11 million American-South African Investment Trust in New York attracted much attention in the South African press. The American Ambassador (Byroade) commented in Cape Town that the establishment of the Bureau was "a constructive move which would allow more attention to be paid to African Affairs". He said that United States investment in the Union was about £SA.118 million, and in the whole of Africa about £SA.250 million.

Inter-Racial Meeting

11. An unfortunate episode in Pretoria on 22nd August has been widely reported in the press. A meeting in the Cathedral Hall of the "Pretoria Political Study Group", in which a number of Afrikaans-speaking academic leaders took a prominent part, was invaded by a body of about 30 Europeans, who assaulted the speaker, ex-Chief Luthuli (President of the African National Congress) and others present, including the chairman and several women. The leader of the invading group, who claimed to "represent Afrikaners", said that he would not allow the meeting to be addressed by "a kaffir". In the audience were diplomatic representatives of four countries, overseas and local press correspondents, and numerous clergy, professors, members of Parliament, and Mr. Daan Verwoerd, son of the Minister of Native Affairs. Mr. Luthuli and others were kicked as they lay on the ground, chairs were thrown, and the hooligans told the audience to leave. The police arrive, four persons were arrested, and six charges were later laid.

12. The episode was shrugged off editorially by "Die Transvaler", but "Die Burger" denounced it as "sheer hooliganism", and intolerable, saying "It is extremely short-sighted to try to stop all contact between leaders of the different races in a multi-racial country. We require more of the right sort of contact, not less". The episode was overshadowed by the news of the Prime Minister's death at the weekend.

Bantu Affairs.

13. The Department of Native Affairs announced on 27th August the general lifting of the ban on meetings of more than ten African Natives, imposed in a large number of areas just before the general elections in South Africa on 16th April this year. The ban remains in force, however, in a few places.

Overseas Racial Problems.

14. Great prominence was given by most South African newspapers to recent developments in the Little Rock, Arkansas, integration situation, to the brawls involving West Indians in Nottingham, England, and to the execution sentence on a negro in Montgomery, Alabama, for robbery.

15. "Die Burger" (Cape Town) commented on the Nottingham riots: "Perhaps the puny racial problem created by the relatively

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

100

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD SAVINGRAM. RESTRICTED

4. I.15338

small number of non-Whites in Britain may help to promote humility, prerequisite for all true knowledge among the British people and their leaders. A great part of Africa can do with less advice, but not without more understanding, from Britain".

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A. 5th September, 1958

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1 99

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM.

RESTRICTED (38)

I. 15253.

Dated: 3rd September, 1958.
1210.
Rec'd: 4th September, 1958.
0830.

JERC:MP

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN.

124. RESTRICTED

Repeated London 6.

Verwoerd's cabinet contains no change. It will be enlarged by two Ministers after the Parliamentary Session ends in October.

2. Verwoerd owed his election by caucus largely to Senators who disregarded the preference of the majority of Cabinet Ministers for Swart.

3. No significant development in Government policy seems likely for some months.

A/MIN.&DEPT. E.A. 4th September, 1958.
P.M's

SEC A/Ss LA UN ER PAC&AM AM&SP S&SEA
SA E. AF&ME E AF&ME INF DL C&P

F 201/2/2/1

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1 98

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

INWARD CABLEGRAM.

I.15189

Sent: 2nd September, 1958
1639
Rec'd: 3rd September, 1958
0830

TWWP/BD

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
CAPETOWN

123. UNCLASSIFIED.

Addressed Canberra 123 repeated London 5.

Verwoerd elected Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. Uncorroborated reports state Swart eliminated in the first ballot in which Verwoerd received nearly half the votes and that Verwoerd defeated Donges 98 to 75 in the second ballot.

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
P.M'S.

3rd September, 1958

SEC A/S LA UN ER CR PAC&AM AM&SP S&SEA SA EAF&ME E AF&ME INF DL C&P

G.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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SCANNING THIS ITEM AT A HIGHER RESOLUTION WILL NOT IMPROVE ITS LEGIBILTY.

CONFIDENTIAL

97
(36)

F 201/2/2/1
201/2/1

27th August, 1958.

PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE ACTING MINISTER: Since Mr. Strijdom became ill, Mr. Swart, Minister of Justice, has been Acting Prime Minister of South Africa. Following Mr. Strijdom's death, he and the existing Cabinet will remain in office until the National Party caucus elects a new leader. Caucus will be meeting on 2nd September for this purpose.

Most Likely Choice

2. Our High Commission in Capetown report that the general feeling there is that Mr. Swart, who is widely respected and liked in Parliament, will be elected leader. The following details concerning him may be of interest:

Age - 64
Formerly lawyer, journalist, University lecturer and teacher.
Elected 1923
Member of National Party since its inception, and member of its Chief Executive since 1928.
Leader of National Party in Orange Free State, and frequently acting leader in Parliament.
The senior Minister in Cabinet.

Other Possible Candidates

3. Mr. Swart may not wish to remain in office for the five year term remaining - in fact, earlier this year he announced that he had been contemplating retirement. If he were elected Prime Minister, therefore, it might be purely a stop-gap arrangement. The National Party does not like such arrangements (e.g. this was said to be one of the reasons why Mr. Havenga was passed over by Caucus in 1954 in favour of the younger Mr. Strijdom), and may therefore prefer a more permanent solution. The most likely possibilities seem to be:

(a) Dr. Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs)

Age - 57
Formerly (i) University professor (in Sociology and Social Service)
(ii) Editor of "Die Transvaler" (National Party organ) on its inception from 1937 to 1948.
Elected to Senate 1948.
Regarded as a "strong man" and as being rigid in outlook.

(b) Dr. Donges (Minister of the Interior)

Age - 63
Formerly newspaper editor of Nationalist Party organs, lawyer, K.C.
Elected 1941.
Led South African delegation to U.N. in 1950 and 1951/52
Regarded by Dr. Malan as a future Prime Minister.

National Archives of Australia CONFIDENTIAL NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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4. In the event of a contest between Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Donges, the National Party may decide on a compromise, possible candidates being:

(a) Mr. De Klerk (Minister of Labour)
(b) Mr. Schoeman (Minister of Transport)
(c) Mr. Louw (Minister of External Affairs)
(d) Mr. Erasmus (Minister of Defence)

Future Policy

5. If Mr. Swart, Dr. Donges or a "compromise" candidate is selected, the National Party is likely to maintain its present course. If Dr. Verwoerd is selected, however, the result is likely to be an increased movement towards authoritarianism, racial segregation, and republican status.

(B. C. HILL)
Head, Europe, Africa and Middle East Branch

B. G. Dexter,
Africa and Middle East Section

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
901/2/2/1

95
35

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION.
CENTRAL HOUSE, PRETORIUS STREET.
PRETORIA.

In reply quote No. 202/5/1

RESTRICTED

MEMO NO 248

19th April, 1958

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA A.C.T.

NATIONAL PARTY VICTORY DEMONSTRATION

Reference : Our memorandum 243 of 18th April, 1958

On 18th A pril a few thousand students from the University of Pretoria held a victory march and demonstration in Church Square, Pretoria, between the Raadsaal and President Kruger's statue, to congratulate Mr. Strijdom and Pretoria Nationalist members of Parliament on the victory of the National Party in the General Election. About 10,000 people attended.

2. The Rector of the University of Pretoria, Professor C.H.Rautenbach, congratulated Mr. Strijdom on behalf of the students. Mr. Strijdom, accompanied by his wife, put on his usual polished theatrical performance, and received an ovation from the crowd. After congratulating those who had worked for the election victory and the successful candidates, and receiving the gift of a University-crest from a senior student, he said:

(a) The electoral franchise would soon be extended to 18-year-olds; the vast majority of young South Africa was Nationalist-minded.

(b) "There are factors delaying the republic, but is is nevertheless closer than the United Party thinks. The election result has shown than we are well on the way and that it is not far off now".

(c) The electorate was solidly behind the Government, realising that the United Party's policy of integration could lead only to disaster. English-speaking people had helped to swing the vote to the National party.

(d) "White skin did not ensure White leadership; it had to be maintained by people properly groomed for rule in the country's educational institutions, with the good of all in mind."

3. To an Australian the whole demonstration was quite remarkable. The only excuse the Rector of the University gave for associating himself officially with one political party was that the statute of the University charged him with keeping an eye on his students and that a majority of his students were at the demonstration. He said that he was born under the Transvaal Republic, but did not go on to say (as his audience obviously hoped) that he would die under a South African Republic. The whole demonstration, and particularly the part played by the Rector, showed the gulf between South African universities, and especially the Afrikaans-medium universities, and those in most other parts of the old Commonwealth.

4. The student/.....

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

4. The student demonstration, however, was relatively anaemic. It was very orderly, there was a good deal of flag-waving (particularly of the vierkleur, the old Transvaal Republic flag), songs were sung, including "Gaudeamus", and the whole thing was carefully managed; but no one broke the atmosphere of reverence and adulation.

(Ian E. Nicholson)
THIRD SECRETARY

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
201/2/2/1
31 JAN 1958
CANBERRA

93

34

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

File No. 202/1

Memo. No. 52

Central House,
Pretorius Street,
PRETORIA.

23rd January, 1958.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

SOUTH AFRICA : NATIONAL POLICIES : DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

Reference : Our telegram Consular 2.

Attached are summaries of the speech delivered in the House of Assembly by the Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, following his motion of no-confidence in the Government on 21st January. Also attached is the speech delivered immediately afterwards in reply by the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Swart (in the absence of Mr. Strijdom who, on account of illness, will not come to Cape Town from Pretoria to attend the session of Parliament).

2. A commentary on the debate (which is still in progress) will be sent in a later airbag, since this memorandum must be posted today in Cape Town in order to catch the plane leaving Johannesburg on 27th January.

3. It will be noted that external affairs and defence are not referred to in either of the attached summaries, and there is hardly any reference to external trade. Since this debate amounts to the formal start of the election campaign, these subjects seem unlikely to provide much material for election issues. Mr. Swart has announced that the election will not be fought on the question of a republic. There is thus every indication at present that it will be fought on the issue of which party can better ensure "White supremacy and prosperity with justice to the non-Europeans".

(H. Gilchrist)
Acting High Commissioner

HG/ET.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

92

Cape Argus 23 January 1958

NAT. POLICY IS ATTACKED IN THE ASSEMBLY

Graaff tells of rise in serious crime in S.A.

THE Nationalist Government had failed in their primary responsibility, which was to maintain law and order, said the Leader of the Opposition (Sir de Villiers Graaff) when he spoke to his motion of no confidence in the Government in the Assembly yesterday. Sir de Villiers said that in the period in which the present Government had been in power there had been an unprecedented increase in serious crime.

Referring to the Government's action in reducing the status of the Coloured people in the community, Sir de Villiers said:

'Here we have a group which always regarded itself as an appendage of the White people in South Africa—a group which has stood by us in times of difficulty, in war and in peace.

'They have evinced no other desire than to assist us to buttress our civilization against the threats that beset us in the emerging continent of Africa.

'Here is a group which accepted our religion, our customs, our Afrikaans language. And the reward they got was to be spurned, pushed aside and reduced to the status of those who cannot claim the same advantages of civilization.

'To-day, hurt and frustrated, many of them are for the first time seeking to make common cause with those elements among the non-White people in South Africa whose hostility to the White man is undisguised.

Broken promise

'They were once promised that if they assisted the Whites to place the Natives on a separate roll, that form of apartheid would not be applied to them. That promise has been broken.

'Not so long ago they heard from the Minister of the Interior (Dr. T. E. Donges) that when they were placed on a separate roll there would be a new deal for the Coloured people. To-day there is little evidence of advance in that direction and no indication from the Minister as to his plans for the future.

'Instead of promoting goodwill this Government by their policies are fast exhausting the goodwill that existed in the past of all non-White sections and have engendered bitterness, disappointment and frustration, where friendliness and helpfulness and co-operation could have existed.

U.P. proposal

'It must be obvious to all that the course set by the Government in relation to the Cape Coloured people must be reversed before the damage is beyond repair.

'For that reason the United Party proposes that the Coloured people who were on a common roll in the Cape Province and Natal in 1951 should be entitled to be restored to that roll, but that new registrations in future should be on the basis of qualifications, more in accord with the circumstances pertaining to-day, and which will be determined in consultation with the leaders of the Coloured people.'

'The United Party plans to provide a limited type of home ownership for certain Natives in locations set aside for them in urban areas, would help to build up a responsible class of Native with whom permanent bridges could be built and who would prove not only more efficient labour, but who would have a real stake in the maintenance of law and order.

'We recognize the Native as a producer, but also as a consumer who is vital to the expansion of our industries. But our approach to the situation remains a realistic one.

'We need the Native and he needs us. For that reason our approach to non-White labour problems is sane and realistic.'

Job reservation

'While accepting that we believe that the White worker must be protected from unequal competition from the non-White, we believe that his interests will best be safeguarded by the continued acceptance of the principle of the rate for the job in industry, to avoid the displacement of Whites by cheap non-White labour.

'We do not agree that the job reservation clause in the Industrial Conciliation Act will achieve that protection. We believe that what jobs should be made available to the non-Whites should be a matter of agreement between the organized employers and the organized White trade unions.

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

'We also believe that the problem of industrial development will be more easily solved and the benefits of such development most enjoyed by the development of the Union as one economic whole with the least possible interference with the most economic pattern for South African industry instead of trying to have two economic units—a Black economy based on the reserves and a White economy based on the White areas.'

Already national income for each head of population was falling. It was useless for Government members to flaunt the comments of journalists and fleeting visitors to South Africa on the favourable opportunities for investment in South Africa and to hide behind the world shortage of capital, and to pretend that money would rush to South Africa if only it was available. The policies of the Government had destroyed the country's good name overseas.

Agriculture

Referring to the welfare of South African agriculture Sir de Villiers said there should be firm adherence to those tariff preferences in British markets which were vital to certain major agricultural products and which would not be secured by a lukewarm approach by Commonwealth countries.

Favourable terms of entry for South African goods into Europe should be secured under the plans for economic union and for free trade areas between the major nations of that continent. There should be special treatment for the markets in Central Africa.

The present position could not be alleviated by arbitrary price reductions of farm requirements. But the Government could and must reduce fuel costs by cutting taxes on them and by getting Sasol to sell petrol at lower prices.

A 10-year plan was necessary to train enough technicians to promote conservation farming by the preparation of conservation farming plans. Rural electrification should be undertaken urgently in the intensive farming regions of the Union. Long-term financial stabilization plans should be incorporated in the administration of every marketing board.

The Government had failed in their primary responsibility which was to maintain law and order. So many crimes involved robbery, house-breaking and various types of assault that an element of insecurity had crept into the lives of the inhabitants of certain of the great cities. The Witwatersrand had borne the brunt of this.

Payroll robberies had reached such proportions that organized commerce and industry had become most alarmed.

In Native townships in many areas the position was even worse and many crimes were not even reported.

There was no doubt that crimes by Europeans had been greatly affected by the uncertainties of the post-war world and the break-up of family life.

In the case of Native crime other factors came into play as well. One of these factors was the many technical and petty offences for which jail sentences carried no disgrace. Largely for the same reason, but also because the laws were sometimes only dimly understood and were often unpopular, a large section of the non-White community did not regard the police as their friends and protectors.

As a result of the apartheid theories of the Government, the Native was led to believe that he was a danger to the White man—that he did not belong outside the reserves and as a result had no real stake in the maintenance of law and order.

The opinion was growing among the Natives that there was no real substance in the Government's desire to develop the reserves and thereby further the ideal of separate development of Native and non-Natives on a basis acceptable to both.

The laws were all laws of the White man for which overlegislation had bred contempt.

The Government had clearly failed to deal with this side of the question. Their record in respect of the prevention of crime had also proved ineffective as was evidenced by the figures of an increase in serious crime.

Clearly immediate steps must be taken to combat the present situation, and they should include the following: There should be a greater concentration by the police force on serious crime and not so much concentration on petty and purely technical offences.

With the limited number of police at the country's disposal it was clear that steps must be taken to release the police force to a far greater degree from extraneous duties so as to have more manpower available for crime prevention.

It was essential to have more men on the beat. Patrol vans and ghost squads had their uses, but they could never replace 'the bobby on the beat' as the chief influence against crime in the city.

It was vital that the police force should be strengthened, particularly the White portion of it, by the attraction to it of a high-quality class of recruit.

The Senate

The United Party Senate plan had been criticized by the more liberally inclined on the grounds that the powers at present enjoyed by the representatives of the non-Whites in the existing Senate were to be limited.

'We accept that criticism, but we think it is necessary in the interests of the maintenance of White leadership.

"There has also been criticism from the other extreme. Firstly it has been suggested that the veto for which the United Party Senate plan provided was not a White veto, but a Black veto.

'Surely this is based either on a deliberate misapprehension or on a wilful misunderstanding of the meaning of the veto.

'A veto can only exist where one group voting against particular legislation can prevent its acceptance, in spite of the fact that all others vote in favour of it. In this case it is clear that less than a quarter of the total number of senators cannot hope to exercise that power.'

Premier's view

A second criticism which had come from the Prime Minister (Mr. J. G. Strydom) had been that he would be unable to govern with a Senate of this sort.

'The first implication of such a statement is that he does not expect the support of a single representative of the non-Whites for [illegible] legislation which he [illegible]

This makes nonsense of the claim that the popularity of the [illegible]

among Native people and the advances which apartheid and the Minister of the Interior are making among the Cape Coloured people.

The Prime Minister also feared that since a two-third majority might be necessary for certain steps in the event of all the representatives of the non-Whites opposing such legislation, it might lead to chaos and revolution.

'It seems surprising that he should adopt this attitude when South Africa was governed by successive governments over the years while the entrenched clauses requiring a two-thirds majority were of full force and effect.

'He seems to have overlooked that under the old Free State Republic a three-quarters majority in successive sessions of the Volksraad was necessary for a constitutional claim.

'Must we accept that he would have been unable to govern in that model republic? Must we accept also that he would be unable to govern and that if his party were in power chaos and revolution would result. In the United States a two-thirds majority of the lower house and a three-quarters majority of the Senate are necessary for a constitutional change.'

Other plans

One question arose pertinently from the Prime Minister's attitude. 'What has the Prime Minister up his sleeve which he wishes to place on the statute book and which he believes will receive support from no single representative of the non-White and no single representative of the Opposition parties?

'It is time for him to be frank with the people and give them some indication of what his intentions are.

'I raise this matter particularly at this stage because the existing Senate has never had the approval of the people of South Africa.

'No Senate plan was placed before the people at the last general election and it is already common knowledge that many staunch supporters of the Nationalist Party are ashamed of the step taken and heartily disapprove of it.

'Are they being asked in this election to approve the continuance of a Senate of this kind or has the Prime Minister any other plans for the Senate.

'If that is so it is his duty to take his courage in his hands and disclose his plans to the public of South Africa.'

[illegible] Kept secret and the United P[illegible] during [illegible] will not [illegible] How can [illegible] on the

Cape Argus 23/1/58 (Graaff Speech) Continued

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

90

REPUBLIC NOT AN ELECTION ISSUE, SAYS MINISTER

THE electorate would not be asked for a mandate for a republic in the coming general election, because if a mandate were given it would have to be carried out, the senior Minister and Minister of Justice (Mr. C. R. Swart) said in the Assembly yesterday when he replied to the Opposition's motion of no confidence.

The Minister, who is acting in the Assembly for the Prime Minister (Mr. J. G. Strydom), moved the following amendment to the motion of no confidence in the Government introduced by the Leader of the Opposition (Sir de Villiers Graaff):

'This House expresses its full confidence in the Government as long as the Government continue to carry out their present policy, and very strongly disapprove of the Opposition's reprehensible display of an un-South African attitude and behaviour by which the ideal of one united South African nation is defeated and South Africa is detrimentally affected in the economic sphere;

'Disapproves of the Opposition's harmful policy and course of action on race relations between the Afrikaans- and English-speaking sections as well as between Europeans and non-Europeans;

'Disapproval of the Opposition's declared intention of reconstituting the Senate in a manner which would jeopardize the continued existence of the Europeans in South Africa.

'Irresponsible accumulation of reckless election promises without any reasonable hope of bringing about their fulfilment.'

The Minister said the House had listened to the 'man of destiny' and the 'Moses who was going to lead the United Party to victory' for 1½ hours.

Old arguments

The speech by Sir de Villiers Graaff had consisted of a string of old arguments that had been debated time and again.

'In all seriousness and with no intention of bragging, I want to say that I stake my political reputation on it that the Nationalist Party will be returned stronger at the next election than it is to-day. We will meet again in Parliament after the election and then we will see who has the last laugh.

'We can say this because we know that our policy will be supported by constituencies throughout the Union.

'As acting Prime Minister and also Minister of Justice I want to make a serious appeal to the whole country for an orderly election. I hope we will all conduct ourselves in such a way that we will have no reason for shame.' (Opposition laughter.)

A.N.C.

The Minister said that the question of the plans of the African National Congress had been raised. He had received information that it planned to make all sorts of difficulties, strikes and chaos to ensure that the United Party was returned to power. That was what the African National Congress was saying. It thought that by creating chaos it could frighten people into returning the United Party.

'I am not going to say in advance what the Government will do, but we know that the Government will act and we know that when they do act the Opposition will be first to raise the matter in Parliament.'

In Parliament the struggle was being conducted on principles. Outside it was being conducted on a basis of calumny and personal attacks on Ministers.

He was referring in particular to Press reports which made attacks on Ministers who were directors of companies, on journeys overseas, on the usual facilities of cars afforded to Ministers and on the question of printing contracts.

Did the United Party associate itself with this sort of campaign?

An Opposition member: Why don't you take them to court?

The Nationalist Party did not admit all the charges set out in Sir de Villiers Graaff's proposal, said the Minister. Nor was it prepared to take over United Party policies. In so far as there were any good points in the proposal, they had already been undertaken by the Government.

Crime

He as Minister of Justice and his department had been attacked on the question of crime. He would not reply fully now but would do so later in the session.

Meanwhile he wished to deplore the attempt by Sir de Villiers to drag this whole question into the political arena.

By ascribing the crime wave to the so-called frustration of the Native because of Government policy, he had given a wonderful encouragement to the criminal. It was tantamount to saying that it was not the criminal's fault but the fault of the Government.

'I shall not be surprised if one of Johannesburg's advocates makes use of that remark in the courts as a plea.'

The Opposition Senate plan was one of the most stupid things ever done by a political party. He [illegible] an older politician than [illegible] Villiers and would like to advise him never to tackle anything of this kind. He played into his opponent's hands and his own supporters were lukewarm about it. Why had full details never been published?

Differences

The Government's ammendment made mention of the un-South African spirit of the Opposition. He fully agreed with Sir de Villiers that there were great differences between the two parties. The Nationalist Party had always followed a policy of South Africa first and that had been shown by the struggle for one flag, one anthem, one citizenship and for the abolition of British titles.

If the United Party came to power would they restore the British anthem and flag? That would be a grave disservice because the Afrikaans-speaking people would never recognize them.

The Leader of the Opposition did not hesitate to belittle South Africa abroad. He had done so in an interview he had given to the B.B.C. and also in a public speech he had made while he was on a visit to Rhodesia.

Throughout the interview and also in his speech in Rhodesia he had spoken of 'we of the United Party.' He had not spoken about South Africa as a whole and had dealt with internal and domestic differences and had attempted to belittle the Government.

What did the public in Britain have to do with these party political differences in South Africa?

A man who was chosen to lead a major political party in South Africa and whose first statements to the outside world were the belittling of his political opponents was not a true South African.

In Rhodesia

In Rhodesia the Leader of the Opposition had, at a public meeting, dealt with such issues as Native education and a republic and had answered questions on South Africa's domestic affairs.

In other words he had made a speech in Salisbury which he should have made at Hermanus in his constituency.

The remarks by Sir de Villiers about Ghana were equally distasteful.

Sir de Villiers should be ashamed of his behaviour during his visit to Rhodesia. 'How can we build a united people when the leader of a major political party condemns his own country while visiting abroad?'

United Party members were continually pleading for better relations between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections of the community, but at the same time they were the ones who were continually sowing suspicion between the two elements and in this they were usually led by certain Afrikaans-speaking members of their party.

The English- and Afrikaans-speaking sections had had their differences in the past on such matters as language, but these had been overcome.

There seemed to be a danger to-day of a greater cleavage developing between the English- and Afrikaans-speaking sections [illegible]

[illegible] present by far the greater majority of the two sections were in agreement on the colour question. But the United Party and certain English-speaking people were branding the Government as the oppressors of non-Whites.

In this the impression was being created that it was the Afrikaans-speaking people who wanted separation of the races and that the English-speaking people were for the mixing of the races in schools, universities and in the churches.

If the English- and Afrikaans-speaking sections were to become divided on this issue the gulf would become unbridgeable. He hoped that that would never come about.

The United Party congress had asked Sir de Villiers Graaff to prepare a list of apartheid measures which the United Party would repeal or rescind when it came into power.

So far Sir de Villiers had not done so. The country was awaiting this list.

Here and there Sir de Villiers had given some indication of what the United Party proposed to do. For example, he had recently stated that his party did not intend to re-enact the legislation providing for the representation of Indians in Parliament. The reason he had given was that the Indians did not want this form of representation.

One of the first acts of the Nationalist Party when it came into power in 1948 had been to repeal this legislation because the Nationalist Party did not want it and the Indians themselves had said that they did not want it. But the United Party had opposed the repeal of the Act. What had happened since then to convince Sir de Villiers that the Indians did not want it?

Colour question

On the colour question the United Party was moving in a strong liberal direction. The country did not yet know the full extent of the United Party's plans.

'We are approaching a general election and I say that if the United Party with its present policy is ever again returned to power, it will be disastrous for South Africa. We know what the policy of the United Party is in some respects, but in other respects we know nothing. Certain aspects of United Party policy have been kept secret and the United Party will not reveal them before the general election.'

Cape Argus 27/1/58

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

(33)

TELEGRAMS & CABLES:
"AUSTRADE"
HONGKONG

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSION
HONG KONG
TELEPHONE: 28062

WING ON LIFE BUILD
22 DES VOEUX RD. CENTR
P. O. BOX 820

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
30 DEC 1957
201/2/2/1
CANBERRA.

File 221/1/8

Memorandum No. 701

18th December, 1957.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

African National Congress.

Attached for your information is the Hsinhua text of a message sent to Mao Tse-tung by the Secretary-General of the Africa National Congress, Mr. O.R. Tambo on November 5th, and of Mao Tse-tung's greetings and support sent on December 12th to mark the opening of the 45th Annual Conference of the Congress in Johannesburg.

Rh Birch

(R.N. Birch)
First Secretary.

GR.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

PRESS CUTTING

88

Name of Publication: Daily News Release
Published at: Hsinhua News agency Hong Kong
Dated: Dec. 14, 1957

AFRICAN CONGRESS SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO CHAIRMAN MAO

PEKING, Dec. 13:- Chairman Mao Tse-tung has received a message from Mr. O.R. Tambo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, asking for support to their fight for fundamental human rights. The congress is to hold its annual conference in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The message, dated November 5, reads:

The African National Congress, a leading political organisation of Africans in South Africa, will hold its 45th annual conference at Johannesburg from the 14th to 16th, December, 1957. This conference precedes the general election in which, if successful, the nationalists will be returned to power for a further term of five years. Although the non-Europeans have no vote they are not uninterested in the outcome of the general election. The return to power of the nationalists on the Apartheid-Herrenvolk policy can have disastrous effects for South Africa, and the non-European people will endeavour to prevent this by intensifying their mass struggle against the nationalist regime.

The African National Congress, whose leaders are among the 156 who are facing a treason charge, is prepared to struggle every inch for the defeat of the nationalist government with its dangerous policy of white supremacy. In this bitter struggle we request individuals and organisations sympathetic to our cause to favour us with messages of encouragement and solidarity in our fight for fundamental human rights. (HSINHUA)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

PRESS CUTTING

87

Name of Publication: Daily News Release
Published at: Hsinhua news agency Hong Kong
Dated: Dec. 14, 1967

CHAIRMAN MAO GREETS AFRICAN CONGRESS

PEKING, Dec. 13:- Chairman Mao Tse-tung yesterday sent a message of greetings and support to the 45th Annual Conference of the African National Congress to be held in Johannesburg tomorrow.

In a message to Mr. O.R. Tambo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, the Chinese leader wrote:

"On the occasion of the 45th Annual Conference of the African National Congress, I, on behalf of the Chinese people, express sympathy and support for the struggle of the people of South Africa for fundamental human rights and against racial discrimination.

"I wish you continuous success in rallying the South African peoples to fight for peace and democracy." (HSINHUA)

- 22 -

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

86

202/2/1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
201/2/1
14 MAR 1957

(32)

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN.

RESTRICTED

Memo. No. 126

9th March, 1957

File
15/3

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA.

South Africa : Dissent in National Party

As background to the brief report in Savingram No. 157 on Dr. Theo Wassenaar's attack on Mr. Strijdom, attached is the text of the statement issued by Dr. Wassenaar on 26th February, 1957.

2. It is possible that the Wassenaar affair may not have much political effect on the National Party beyond some re-examination at party executive meetings of the party's theory and practice regarding co-operation with the English-speaking community in the Union (which is, of course, no new problem). As yet, however, it is too early to be sure that its repercussions will be so limited.

(H. Gilchrist)
FIRST SECRETARY

Encls.

RESTRICTED

GR

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

THE NATIONAL PARTY IN THE TRANSVAAL

Text of statement issued by Dr. Theo Wassenaar, Member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Council, on the occasion of his resignation from the leadership of the National Party in the Transvaal, 26th February, 1957.

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I have been bitterly disappointed and shocked at events which have resulted in the Prime Minister succumbing to pressure from persons with extremist attitudes.

When the Executive Committee (of the Provincial Council) was recently considering appointments to Transvaal school boards, strong representations were made from various sides that no English-speaking people should be appointed to the boards. The most powerful representations came from the West Witwatersrand.

I considered this matter in the light of the Nationalist statement of principle that there must be a spirit of trust and co-operation between the White races, and that equal language rights should be accorded to both sections.

Secondly, I felt that I should deal in the spirit of the great leaders of Afrikanerdom such as General Hertzog, Dr. Malan and Mr. Havenga, and the words of the present Prime Minister that "unless the two main language groups understand each other and are prepared to guarantee each other in our hearts and in our minds, in our convictions and in practice, the right of co-existence and full and unqualified partnership, we are both doomed to destruction".

To this he added: "Both sections are equally entitled to all that our country has to offer her children, and any attempt to detract from this should be regarded as an act of the greatest disloyalty to South Africa".

In the light of these solemn assurances and declarations, and in accordance with my own deepest convictions, the Executive Committee must, in my opinion, have regarded it as its duty to appoint at least two representatives of the English section on the bigger school boards everywhere where no representatives of this section had been chosen, and there were considerable numbers of English children in English or parallel-medium schools. (These boards consist of 12 members).

For this attitude I had at the beginning also the support of the Prime Minister, and I made attempts to reason with those Nationalists who put the inexorable demand: "No English on the West Rand School Board", and to get them to modify their demand and accept that the Executive Committee saw it as its duty to appoint at least two English members, while at the same time with co-operation to persuade two of the elected members to resign from the school board so that the two recommended predikants (clergymen), who could not be named by the executive, could be co-opted to those vacancies.

These attempts did not succeed. Their attitude was that they would exercise pressure on the elected members not to resign, and that the recommended predikants who were not named would refuse to be co-opted if one of the members should resign to make room for them.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

In an interview which six West Rand Nationalists had with the Prime Minister, the deputation (as the Prime Minister later informed me) agreed to recommend to the larger committee of the parents' association on the West Rand that they would be content if one English-speaking person should be appointed to the School Board.

This deputation in fact never reported back to the larger committee to get its consent. Nothing further was heard from the West Rand committee.

Subsequently I learned further that the one English-speaking person must be, in addition, "well disposed".

It was a deep disappointment for me when I learned at this stage from the Prime Minister that he had recommended that only one English person should be appointed, and truly shocking for me when it became clear that the Prime Minister had succumbed to the extremist attitude of the West Rand Nationalists and insisted that the Executive Committee should only appoint predikants recommended by Provincial Councillors to the board, which came to this, that no single English person should be appointed to the board.

The yawning gulf which lay revealed between the solemn words of guarantee on the one hand and the utter and complete absence of that spirit in practice was so shocking to me that I felt that in the future I would never again have the courage to refer to those solemn undertakings with conviction. And I could not get rid of the painful awareness that in this fundamental question which touched the roots of our nation-building I and other Nationalists were busy wandering the path of untruth and unworthiness.

I have no faith any more that under the present leadership in connection with this high principle the Nationalist Party will be able to struggle free from the impotence in which the extreme elements of the party hold it prisoner. And I consider that if in a fundamental matter, touching the nation as a whole, I must say and guarantee one thing and then not only neglect to live up to it, but then in flat contradiction must do the opposite, then (so I felt) I would be busy lowering the standard of our public life so much that dishonesty in politics would become its basis.

What sorry consequences would flow from that into all aspects of public life, which under the present circumstances would touch the ethical basis of Afrikanerdom most of all, I could not fathom.

As leaders of Afrikanerdom we cannot throw away our word on the rubbish heap, for then also we throw away our honour. Then our words will become valueless and we shall have no word of honour left to pledge, and all mutual trust in one another's feelings of right and reasonableness, tolerance and honesty between citizens and citizen in public life, will die. And while we remain a Christian nation, that great commandment remains for us: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thself".

The question was put to me: "Why do you not appoint Nationalist-minded or well-disposed English persons? There were English members of the Nationalist Party available".

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

My answer is: I considered it; I rejected it. It would have satisfied no one. If we wish to eliminate all those who think otherwise from us, even from purely advisory boards, then we are already a one-party State and dictatorship stands before the door.

To be anti-English and to behave as such is not Nationalism. To slight and hate the English is a prohibition to building a nation, it is a braking power which will retard it: it is a refusal to hear the request of a highly placed English person made at the Voortrekker Monument: "We ask you Afrikaners, take us along with you".

If a few embittered party members can demand that a fundamental principle of the Nationalist Party should be violated and that no rights should be accorded to the English-speaking citizens; if the Prime Minister has not had the courage to withstand them; if party interest must count before the interest of the nation; and if the Prime Minister cannot stand by his given word to the English-speaking section; then we are steering towards disaster, and he cannot lead South Africa to peace and good fortune.

South Africa must lift up her voice to a new call and give to her citizens a new hope for the future.

"In unity is strength". Will there arise again out of Afrikanerdom a man, great in heart and in courage, who will sound this clarion-call with a clear voice and unshakable faith, and bring it to fulfilment?

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

201/2/2/1 pt 9

SAVINGRAM.

(34)

UNCLASSIFIED.

MB

I. 12508.

Dated: 23rd September, 1955.

FROM:

Rec'd: 30th September, 1955.
0910

Australian High Commission,
PRETORIA.

Saving 6. UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA (9TH - 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1955.

The season for provincial congresses of the main political parties of South Africa continued. In the fortnight under review the National Party held its Orange Free State Congress at Bloemfontein and opened its Transvaal Congress at Pretoria, and the United Party's Natal Congress opened in Maritzburg. These meetings provided occasions for statements by political leaders on issues such as the republican question, the British Protectorates, relations with African states, the franchise, and apartheid in the universities.

2. Other events or subjects which attracted comment included the Hillbrow by-election, the Istanbul monetary conference, the Union's balance of trade, and the defence of Southern Africa. Mr. Nehru's adverse references to South Africa in his foreign policy statement of 20th September were reported verbatim in the South African press, but not a great deal of notice of them was taken otherwise.

NATIONAL PARTY'S CONFERENCE IN THE FREE STATE.

3. The Republican Question: At the Bloemfontein Congress of the National Party in the Orange Free State the Prime Minister spoke on a motion which urged that a referendum on the question of a republic be held soon after the 1958 election of the House of Assembly. Mr. Strijdom said that no referendum or other test of opinion on a republic would be held until there could be no doubt that the majority would be in favour of it. No date for such a test could be set yet. When the republic came, he said, the chances of South Africa working in close co-operation with the Commonwealth would increase 100 per cent., as all opportunity of clashing would be out of the way. He denied that South Africa as a republic would be isolated from other countries. When the test of opinion came, he declared, "be it a referendum, a special election or any other form", there must be no doubt of it failing, for failure could do much harm to the republican cause.

4. The Protectorates: The Prime Minister said that the Union Government could not and would not abandon the question of the incorporation of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in the Union. Incorporation, he said, had been the clear intention of the four colonial Governments before Union, of the Union Government afterwards, and of the British Government and British Parliament, as set forth in the South Africa Act. He opposed, however, a motion calling for the imposition of a duty on food exported from the Union to the Protectorates unless a satisfactory agreement for their incorporation were reached with the British Government. Such action, he said would be out of place and ill-advised. The Union Government and the British Government were friendly governments and it was a matter for friendly negotiations. After the transfer, the Union would treat the Protectorates in the same sympathetic way as it had treated the Union's Native territories, as national homes for the various tribes or races.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

SAVINGRAM.

UNCLASSIFIED.

The rights of Europeans who had been allowed to settle in certain parts of the Protectorates would, however, be respected. He attacked "certain individuals and newspapers" for trying to incite the Natives in the Protectorates against the Union. The English-language press praised Mr. Strijdom for the moderation of his remarks (see also paragraph below on the Protectorates).

5. Voting Age: A motion to amend the electoral laws to allow all Europeans aged 18 or over to vote received a mixed reception at the congress. The Minister for the Interior, Dr. Donges, said that as far as the Government was concerned a prima facie case had been made out for such an extension of the franchise, and that the Government would in due course consider the matter. The Minister for Justice, Mr. Swart, however, counselled caution until the possible effect of such a change on the distribution of seats in Parliament was known. The younger people were concentrated in the larger cities, he said, and if the franchise were extended to them, the cities might get more constituencies at the expense of the rural areas, particularly the Free State. Mr. Swart's warning is an admission of the Government's reliance on the rural areas for much of its support.

6. University Apartheid: Speaking on a motion which urged the withdrawal of subsidies from those universities which do not acknowledge colour discrimination and which admit non-European students, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, Mr. Viljoen, said that a plan for implementing racial separation in the universities would be drafted, following on the findings of the recent Committee of Enquiry into university apartheid. The problem, he said, was one to be tackled gradually, but it would be tackled seriously. He observed that at present there was no legislation forbidding non-European students to attend "European" universities, and said that when non-Europeans were no longer allowed to enter those universities other provision would have to be made for them. Withholding of subsidies from the mixed universities, he pointed out, would mean their closure, which would be to the detriment of the Europeans.

7. Other motions before the congress called for stricter application of the Suppression of Communism act, and for severer sentences for Natives convicted of carrying firearms or assaulting European women. Answering the latter proposal, the Minister of Justice said that the penalties were already heavy and that, during his term of office, no Native sentenced to death for raping a European woman had escaped hanging.

8. The Congress adopted a motion fully supporting any further steps which the Prime Minister might take to place the Coloured people on a separate voting roll, and to place the sovereignty of Parliament beyond doubt.

NATIONAL PARTY'S TRANSVAAL CONGRESS.

9. The Prime Minister, addressing the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria, said that African states, including non-European states, would jointly have to act in such a manner "that we will notsee one another as enemies but as different states and races and communities which are, each in his own territory, entitled to existence in this big continent". Every attempt should be made to obtain the greatest measure of co-operation between South Africa and neighbouring countries. On the republican question he said that the National Party was approaching the republic "the Irish way - step by step until we come to the final step when Parliament decides to establish a republic". The congress unanimously elected Mr. Strijdom leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

UNITED PARTY'S NATAL CONGRESS.

10. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Strauss, opening the Natal Congress of the United Party at Maritzburg, said that the lesson of the Hillbrow by-election (see below) was that the country's political future would be fought out by the United Party and the National Party. The United Party was prepared to accept criticism and suggestions for improvements in its programme but would not be diverted from its democratically chosen path by little pressure groups either within or without its ranks. Mr. Strauss declared that the United Party was unalterably opposed to a republic in any shape or form. The party stood, he said, for a large measure of provincial authority in provincial matters, and it condemned the Minister of Education for having appointed a committee to work out a system of national education which would be forced on all four provinces. Mr. Strauss described Nationalist political activity as a tragedy in five Acts - the first and second being the tampering with the courts and the continuing curtailment of civil liberties, the third being the reconstruction of the Senate, and the fourth and fifth, now planned, being the division of the Union into separate competitive racial states and the creation of an authoritarian republic.

11. A former vice-chairman of the party in Natal, Colonel Cochran, moved a resolution calling for a consolidation of anti-republican feeling in the country, and expressed disappointment at the lack of emphasis given to this matter by the United Party during the past year. The Nationalists, he added, were making a great deal of propaganda on the republican issue, which was not being counteracted.

THE PROTECTORATES.

12. On 8th September, Sir Percivale Liesching, who is concurrently United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Union, and High Commissioner for the Protectorates, reiterated Sir Winston Churchill's and Viscount Swinton's statement made last year, that the United Kingdom Government would not at that time propose to Parliament the transfer of the Protectorates. Addressing the Basutoland National Council, he said that, in the event of a discussion of the question by the United Kingdom Parliament, the views of the Basuto people would be made known to the Parliament. Several days later Sir Percivale, addressing several thousand Basutos at Maseru, warned them that the British people could not be expected to go on paying over £100,000 a year on developing Basutoland, and that therefore more revenue would have to be raised in the Protectorate itself.

HILLBROW BY-ELECTION.

13. The Hillbrow seat in the Union House of Assembly was retained by the United Party in the by-election held on 14th September. The United Party candidate, Dr. Stoenkamp, polled 3,299 votes against the sitting member and former United Party representative, Dr. Friedman, who polled 2,658 votes. The English-language press expressed relief, but only partial relief at the result. The lowness of the poll (40 per cent. did not vote) was thought to indicate local indifference to the main question at issue - the restoration of the Coloured voters to the common roll in the Cape, in the event of their being removed from it by the present Government. The result, however, was generally seen as an endorsement of the present United Party leadership and policies.

PRICE OF GOLD.

14. Mr. Louw's efforts at the International Monetary Fund

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

SAVINGRAM.

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Conference in Istanbul to achieve a higher world price for gold were praised by all sections of the South African press. It was agreed that he had put the case more forcefully this year, and the qualified support offered by the United Kingdom was welcomed. The lack of a result favourable to South Africa was received with regret but little surprise, in view of the advance notice given of United States opposition to a higher price.

DEFENCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

15. The Minister of Defence, Mr. Erasmus, on 10th September at a meeting in Vryburg spoke on agreements for the defence of Southern Africa. He said that Britain and South Africa would select in peace time a number of warships for the defence of the sea route round the Cape in time of aggression. It was hoped, he said, that other countries interested and willing to co-operate would be prepared to do the same. The Government hoped that such countries would be approached in the near future for their co-operation. In the event of a South African conference being held, as envisaged, to discuss the establishment of base and telecommunications facilities and radar facilities through and around Southern Africa, the defence of such installations would be proposed for discussion. The Government considered that it would be in the interests of the countries concerned to place under one Southern African defence organisation the machinery which such a conference might create. The creation of such an organisation had been the concern of the Government for a considerable time, and the Government regarded recent agreements as important milestones in that direction.

16. Discussion of these problems at a high official level within the Union Government has recently been proceeding, but the United Kingdom High Commisssion is not aware of any advance towards further defence agreements since those announced in June (Savingram No. 1). Mr. Erasmus' announcement thus appears to be somewhat propagandist.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA.

17. It was officialy announced that the first Austrian Legation in South Africa would be opened in Pretoria in October, with Dr. Wilhelm Goertz as Minister. The South African Ambassador to Italy will be accredited also as Minister to Austria, but there is no intention of establishing an office in Vienna in the near future.

ANTARCTIC.

18. It was announced that the South African project of establishing a weather base on Bouvet Island , 1500 miles South-west of Capetown, had been abandoned for the present. It had been hoped to establish a base there as part of operations of the International Geophysical Year.

BANTU EDUCATION.

19. Archbishop Denis Hurley, a spokesman of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Johannesburg, announced that the Roman Catholic Church was about to open a campaign to raise £400,000 for its Native schools in South Africa. The Church, he said, could not accept the "basic" or "neutral" Christianity taught in the Government Bantu community schools. Consequently, the Roman Catholic hierarchy of South Africa had decided to retain its native schools, from which, under the Government's policy, State subsidies would be gradually withdrawn.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

SAVINGRAM.

UNCLASSIFIED.

BALANCE OF TRADE.

20. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. van Rhijn, told the annual congress of the Handelsinstituut (Institute of Commerce) in Bloemfontein on 15th September that, according to present indications, the Government would be able to maintain the present flow of imported goods, with the possibility of relaxing import control in cases where the need was greatest. It would be premature at this stage, he said, to forecast a date on which import control might be lifted. He predicted that uranium exports in 1955 would yield £25m. Gold production was still increasing, he added, and an increase of £15m on last year's figure was not impossible. (According to the latest official figures, South Africa in the first half of 1955 had a favourable trade balance of about £12m., taking into account gold production. Invisible items, however, such as freight, insurance and other payments abroad, may offset this favourable balance and could result eventually in a deficit of between £13m. and £18m. for the year. Uranium exports for the six months were valued at £12,500,000 - almost double their value for the same period in 1954).

MAIZE EXPORT PRICE.

21. A spokesman of the South African Mealie Control Board said on 20th September that the Board was watching overseas price trends for mealies (maize) very anxiously indeed. It would be wrong to speak of large losses at this stage, he said, because some earlier cargoes had been sold at a profit, but during the past fortnight South African mealies had been sold at considerable loss. The South African crop is estimated at 36,579,000 bags, about 2½m. bags less than last year.

A/MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
MIN. & DEPT. TREASURY.
MIN. & DEPT. DEFENCE.
MIN. & DEPT. C. & A. (CANB.)
MIN. & DEPT. T. & C. (CANB.)
P.M'S.

30th September, 1955.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

National Party's Natal Congress.

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5. The Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, opened the Natal Congress of the National Party in Vryheid on 25th August. Since he assumed the Prime Ministership his public speeches and statements have been regarded as moderate and showing a spirit of tolerance, but this, his latest speech, was marked by a tone of caustic bitterness throughout. He described the United Party as powerless, leaderless and emasculated, but as harnful to South Africa, because many people overseas believed the United Party's untrue propaganda. He pointed to the great volume of foreign investment in South Africa during the past seven years as indicating confidence of overseas businessmen in South Africa's stability and progress, and referred to the boom in every field of economic enterprise, especially in agriculture, secondary industry and mining. He accused the United Party of duplicity about apartheid, and stated that the vast majority of the electorate was in full agreement with the Government's apartheid policy. He described the United Party's propaganda regarding equal language rights as "shameful temerity", and accused the party of the greatest political crime - that of creating animosity between the two European sections in South Africa.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS RESTRICTED (29)

SAVINGRAM.

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Dated: 12th August 1955.
Nil.
Rec'd: 18th August 1955.
1120.

FROM:

Australian High Commission,
PRETORIA.

SAV. 3/55. RESTRICTED.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICE (JULY 29TH - AUGUST 11th)

During a quiet fortnight, the main events of interest were the selection of National Party candidates for the Transvaal seats in the new Senate, and the annual review of the Union's economy by the Governor of the South African Reserve Bank. The Cabinet met for the first time since June. There was no comment by any Union Minister on any international matter, although South Africa protested to Bulgaria regarding the shooting down of an Israeli airliner carrying five South Africans. The Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Louw, exchanged views in the press with Mrs. McPherson of the Labour Party regarding the Government's policy on passports. A conference between the Government and the shipping companies resulted in agreement on a rise in sea freight rates between South Africa and Europe.

CANDIDATES FOR SENATE ELECTION.

2. The National Party caucus in the Transvaal selected its candidates for the 27 Transvaal seats in the new Senate. (The caucus, of 88 members, comprises the party's Transvaal Members of Parliament, including the Prime Minister, the leader of the Party, and the Party's members of the Transvaal Provincial Council). The result of the voting suggests that Mr. Strijdom has strengthened his position in the Transvaal caucus, and to that extent in the Parliamentary caucus. The "Pretoria News" complained that the rural areas and the Afrikaans-speaking community in the Transvaal will be grossly over-represented, by comparison with the cities and the English-speaking community in that Province.

3. The 27 candidates were selected by secret ballot from 156 applicants, who included 100 farmers. The five National party members who represented the Transvaal in the old Senate, including Dr. Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs) and Senator J. de Klerk (Minister of Labour), were among the first selected. The 27 chosen included 16 from rural areas, but included none of the four women applicants nor the four Jewish applicants. Because of the provisions of the recent Senate Act (abolishing proportional representation in elections from the provincial electoral colleges), and because the National Party has a majority in the Transvaal provincial electoral college, all of the 27 National Party candidates will most probably be elected as Senators.

4. Nominations of candidates for the 22 Senate seats in the Cape Province will close on 22nd August. The Cape caucus of the National Party will not select its candidates until its leader, Dr. Donges (Minister of the Interior), returns on 19th August from overseas.

5. "Die Transvaler", of which newspaper the Prime Minister is a director, suggested on 11th August that the election of the new Senate might take place in November.

RESERVE BANK REPORT.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

6. The Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr. M.H. de Kock, addressing the annual general meeting of the Bank's stockholders, made the following points in a comprehensive and authoritative review of the Union's economy:-

(a) the seasonal patterns of recent years would probably be repeated in the second half of 1955, and result in a substantial favourable trade balance for South Africa;

(b) the general financial situation in the Union remained relatively strong and sound, and there were no signs of excessive speculation and no real cause for anxiety about the state or prospects of the balance of payments;

(c) following the great economic expansion experienced by the Union during the past eight years, there were signs now of a decline in the tempo of private investment.

7. Dr. de Kock reviewed the balance of payments situation, capital inflow, national income and investment, the cost and credit structures of the Union, sterling area arrangements, and the international economic situation. (For full text see Memorandum No.340 of the 11th August).

THE CONSTITUTION ISSUE.

8. In Pretoria, the Women's Defence of the Constitution League (Savingram 2) continued to post their black-sashed sentinels outside Government offices and at points of arrival and departure of Ministers. About 300 members of the League held a prayer meeting in the grounds of the Union Buildings in Pretoria on 10th August. These demonstrations have been very quiet. The only substantial government comment on them came from Mr. Louw, who described the ladies as "weeping Winnies", adding: "If the United Party and its allies think that they are embarrassing the Government by using a lot of silly women for exhibitionist purposes, they have got another think coming". He said that he was surprised at their going to the length of mixing religion with politics by holding anti-Government prayer meetings.

9. The Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, the Rt. Rev. Archibald Cullen, was reported as saying on 2nd August that the Church of the Province of South Africa would not make an official stand against the Senate Act. "It is not the function of the Church to engage in political activity", he said. The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, however, in his monthly pastoral letter at the same time wrote: "The actions contemplated under this particular piece of legislation are such that they are bound to raise grave questions for us all." Bishop Reeves went on to criticise the reconstitution of the Senate "in such a way that the representation of a section of White opinion would be diminished", and the attempt to deprive the Coloured people of a voting privilege which they had enjoyed for 45 years.

10. Addressing a United Party meeting in Johannesburg, the Party leader, Mr. Strauss, said that if the Party's legal advisers decided that the Senate Act's legality could be tested in the courts, then it could most certainly be tested in that way.

PASSPORTS CONTROVERSY.

11. Mrs. McPherson's criticism. - An exchange of views regarding

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

South African and United States practice concerning the issue of passports was carried on in the press between Mr. Louw and Mrs. Jessie McPherson, National Chairman of the Labour Party (Savingram No. 2). Mr. Louw had said that he had looked into the question recently when in America, and that the Union's legislation was in line with United States practice "as applied up to now". Mrs. McPherson replied that, if this were so, the Government should state the reasons for refusing to extend her passport, so that she might thereupon ask the Courts to decide whether those reasons were sufficient. Mr. Louw then claimed to have been misquoted, and said that the United States State Department strongly maintained that it was not obliged to give reasons.

12. Mr. Louw, speaking in Durban, was also reported to have criticised persons who "wish to go abroad with the intention of there maligning South Africa - and even attacking the Government", and to have remarked that such persons could not expect the "assistance" of the Government. The Johannesburg "Star" deduced from this that the Union Government's restrictions on passports applied to all who were likely to criticise the Government, and not merely to Communists who might be seeking subversive contacts behind the Iron Curtain.

13. The Ramasodi Case. (Savingram No. 2) - The father of Stephen Ramasodi applied to the Department of the Interior on 27th July for reconsideration of its refusal to issue a passport to his son to study in the United States. No decision upon such reconsideration has yet been announced. Mr. Alan Paton, the South African author, said that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had written to him expressing her concern at the Government's refusal to grant a passport to a native student to come to the United States for study.

14. Soviet Policy. - In Pretoria the acting Consul-General for the Soviet Union denied that Soviet offices in West European countries were willing to admit travellers, including South Africans, to the U.S.S.R. without visas. Before a South African passport could admit its holder to a Communist country, he stated, it would have to be validated for that country, and also stamped with the necessary visa.

BY-ELECTION ON COLOURED VOTE ISSUE.

15. The Hillbrow division of the United Party unanimously selected Dr. Louis Steenkamp as the United Party candidate to oppose Dr. Friedman (Independent) in the Hillbrow by-election to take place on 14th September (Savingram 2). Dr. Steenkamp, a Doctor of Education of the University of Stellenbosch, is a former member of the Union House of Assembly, a businessman and a farmer. He is regarded as a strong candidate.

SEA FREIGHT RATES RISE.

16. Negotiations between the Union Government and a number of shipping lines resulted in a compromise agreement on increases in freight charges, on voyages between South Africa and Europe (including the United Kingdom) to operate from 1st September.

17. The conference, which opened in Pretoria on 2nd August comprised representatives of the twenty-one "South African Conference" lines, Departmental officials, and representatives of the South African perishable food export industries. The shipping lines, citing higher operating costs, pressed for agreement on rises of 15 or 20 per cent. The Government resisted this, but agreement was reached as follows:-

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

(a) 10 per cent on all merchandise imports and exports other than refrigerated cargo and baled exports;

(b) 25 per cent on refrigerated cargo;

(c) certain specific increases on baled produce such as wool, hides and skins, and ranging from one-eighth to five-eighths of a penny per pound weight;

(d) certain adjustments of Government cargo rates.

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. van Rhijn, announcing the agreement on 11th August, also stated that he was willing to modify the South African Shipping Board Bill very considerably, in view of assurances of co-operation given by the Conference Lines, and the special machinery set up to deal with situations visualised in the Bill. (The Bill, which was published in May this year, was held over until next session after protests against it had been made by the shipping lines and the United Kingdom Government. It envisaged giving the South African Shipping Board wide powers of investigating and controlling foreign shipping and of prescribing cargoes).

"ATOMS FOR PEACE".

18. The opening stages of the "Atoms for Peace" conference in Geneva attracted great attention in the press. There was little reference to South African participation. Public interest in South Africa's role was directed, as usual, more towards uranium mining in the Union, and to expectations of profit therefrom. The Johannesburg "Star", however, praised Dr. Diederichs, M.P., for urging on South African industry this week a programme of nuclear research in conjunction with the State and the Universities. The paper at the same time took the view that South Africa's coal reserves were big enough and mining costs low enough to allow South Africa to delay nuclear power development while studying progress in that field abroad.

RACIAL POLICY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION.

19. Lord Malvern's statement on 29th July, that politically the Central African Federation and the Union of South Africa were drawing further apart, received much notice in the South African press. The English-language newspapers took it as an occasion for renewing their praise of the Federation's racial policies, compared with those of the Union. A fairly representative Afrikaans-press view was that of W.J. van Heerden in "Dagbreek en Sondagnuus". Van Heerden, after expressing admiration of Lord Malvern's political skill, said that his methods could bring only temporary success. "His technique is to proclaim every now and then, for the information of public opinion in England, the so-called theoretical differences between the Rhodesian and the South African approach to the colour problem, and thereafter calmly to continue to apply those concepts which still form the basis of practice in Rhodesia, to no lesser extent than in the Union". In other words, he charged Lord Malvern with preaching integration but practising apartheid.

WARNING AGAINST CONSUMER CREDIT.

20. The Minister of Finance, Mr. Louw, warned farmers, and the country generally, against the extravagant use of bank credits, which, he said, would lead to renewed inflation and a weakening of the balance of payments position. He urged the public not to borrow money to buy consumer goods, and said that the Reserve Bank had asked the commercial banks to be more cautious against extending

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

such credit. He particularly urged farmers to care for their machinery and cars, imports of which represented a heavy burden on the balance of payments. During the past year, he said, the Government had followed a deliberate policy of checking inflation and it was surprising to what extent this policy had succeeded. Import control in South Africa was on the way out, but even after import control had been lifted the need for keeping imports within reasonable bounds would remain.

DECIMALISATION OF THE COINAGE.

21. Mr. Louw on 2nd August denied reports that a decimal coinage system would be introduced in South Africa next year. Contradicting recent published reports to that effect, he referred to his statement in Parliament to the effect that a change over to decimal coinage would be very costly business and would involve much inconvenience in view of the large numbers of intricate calculating machines in use in South Africa.

PRIME MINISTER & DEPT.
MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
TREASURER & TREASURY.
MIN. & DEPT. IMMIG.
MIN. & DEPT. C.&A.(C)
MIN. & DEPT. T.&C.(C)
MIN. & DEPT. N.D.
MIN. & DEPT. L.&N.S.
MIN. I/C A.A.E.C.
CHAIRMAN A.A.E.C.
P.M.'S.

18th August 1955.

SEC. A/Ss L.&T(DIV.4) MR.HOOD UN ER CR PAC&AM EA S&SEA E.AF&ME E INF C&P.

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Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM CAPETOWN"

REFERENCE No. 3/2/8/ 1103

(c.c. 3/2/7/)

Memo. No. 164

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
29 APR 1955
CANBERRA.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
DUMBARTON HOUSE
COR. ADDERLEY & CHURCH STS.
CAPETOWN

21st April, 1955.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

South Africa: National Party Parliamentary Whips.

Rising politicians in the National Party frequently aspire to the posts of Parliamentary Whips as these posts are an effective means of their securing political advancement.

2. It will be recalled that the Hon. D.T. du Plessis Viljoen was the Chief National Party Whip in the Senate before his designation as Administrator of South-West Africa and that the new Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. J.J. Serfontein, was previously Chief National Party Whip in the House of Assembly. The Hon. J.F. Naudé, present Minister of Health, held the office of a Party Whip for some 25 years before becoming Speaker of the House of Assembly and subsequently Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. In the last Session Professor Avril Malan, Nationalist M.P. for Gezina, acted as Deputy Chief Whip to Mr. Serfontein. However, preoccupied with other duties, which include the chairmanship of the Select Committee on the Liquor Bill, Professor Malan chose not to stand for the vacancy of Chief Whip occasioned by Mr. Serfontein's promotion to Cabinet rank. The Nationalist Party accordingly held an election for ~~the~~ two vacancies for Whips and at this election Mr. P.K. Le Roux, M.P. for Prieska, who was formerly the Party's Whip for the Cape Province, was elected Chief Whip (a biography of Mr. P.M.K. Le Roux appears on page 388 of the South African Who's Who for 1954). Mr. Le Roux was succeeded as the Party's Cape Provincial Whip by Mr. M.J. de la R. Venter, M.P. for De Aar/Colesberg. Mr. S.F. Papenfus, M.P. for Harrismith, is the Party's Free State Whip, and Mr. J.E. Potgieter, M.P. for Brits, is the Party's Transvaal Whip.

(K.T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

1. Mr. McMillan
2. ~~Mr. Peters~~

Copy on 201/1/3

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

3/2/8/ 1102

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

206 Dumbarton House,
Church Street,
CAPE TOWN.

Memo. No. 163

21st April, 1955.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

South Africa: The Hon. J.F. (Tom) Naude,
Minister of Health.

I forward herewith a biographical press notice of Mr. J.F.Naude, South African Minister of Health, which appeared in the "Cape Argus" of the 16th April, 1955.

(K.T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

→ 201/2/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/2/1

Mr Oldham. (26) 66

I suggested that copy of this go to PM's Dept. in case Prime Minister interested. HG 8/11

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(3/1/2/
3/4/3/7/)

CONFIDENTIAL

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
320 Central House,
Pretorius Street,
PRETORIA.
19.10.54

Central
HD

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 10/1954.

S i r,

I have the honour to report that the highlight of the four days' programme of ceremonies in celebration of the Kruger anniversary was the unveiling of the statue of President Kruger, with its four figures at the base, in Church Square, the heart of the city of Pretoria, on October 11th, 1954. This bronze statue has had a chequered resting place and during the last fifty years has been placed on several sites, but, after decades of controversy, it now finally rests in a position of honour always visualised by those who planned the statue in Republican days.

2. The siting of the statue in Church Square is regarded as symbolical of the whole Afrikaner struggle for recognition on the basis of full equality. The ceremonies, and particularly the unveiling, were a personification of the emotional fulfilment of most of the ideals of the Afrikaner race. Political recognition and equality were early and generously given to the Afrikaner race after the South African War. Economic recognition and independence came more slowly but since then there has been social recognition in full measure. The Afrikaner race has not been submerged, nor absorbed, nor repressed, and the unveiling of the statue typifies another stage in its advance. It has travelled far along the road of its final objectives.

3. The ceremony itself was most colourful. Church Square, of which I enclose a photograph, was packed with an estimated attendance of 40,000 people, the majority of whom were clearly charged with the old fervour of Transvaal Republicanism. This was exemplified by the prevalence of the old Vierkleur, the flag of the former Transvaal Republic, and the acclamation with which every reference to the old Kruger Republic was received. The main dais was occupied by the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet Ministers, except Mr. Louw (Minister of Economic Affairs) who was on his way to the G.A.T.T. Conference, the Leader of the Opposition - Mr. J.G.N. Strauss, the Administrators of the Cape Province, Orange Free State and Transvaal, the representative of the Natal Administrator, and the whole of the Diplomatic Corps.

4. The ceremony was well done although it was unduly drawn out, occupying 2½ hours. Some features of the proceedings were the flight over the Square by 16 Harvards of the South African Air Force, a salute of 21 guns from the City Hall, and the release of 1,000 carrier pigeons by Mr. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance which carried the news of the unveiling to all the important centres of the Union. The parade was attended by large detachments of military forces, police, girl guides, scouts and other kindred organisations. At the opening of the ceremony the massed bands played the old Transvaal Republican Anthem and it was repeated throughout the ceremony at intervals, whilst after the actual unveiling the Union anthem "Die Stem van Suid Afrika" was played. It was very noticeable to Commonwealth represen-

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

tatives that even with the arrival of the Governor-General at Church Square and at the subsequent official luncheon, the National Anthem and the Royal Toast were omitted. The same can be said for the flying of the Union Jack which was only noticed on buildings owned by English-speaking firms, and, although the Flag Act provides for the flying of the Union Jack and Union Flag side by side on all official occasions, only the Union's flag was displayed. Indeed, the whole of the ceremonies throughout the four days were of a purely Republican character demonstrating Republican sentiments and conducted entirely in the Afrikaans language.

5. At the unveiling ceremony Mr. Strydom, Minister of Lands, acted as Chairman, introducing the various speakers, the main ones being the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Kruger Committee, the Provincial Administrators and the President of the Senate. All the speeches were moderate in tone and followed a similar texture of thought. The speech of the Prime Minister was given the closest attention. Regarded as the outstanding Afrikaner orator in the Union, it was noticed that his speech lacked fire and that he was visibly frailer. This may have some bearing on the second portion of this despatch dealing with the surprise announcement of his resignation the same evening.

6. During the course of his speech Dr. Malan stated that when the Republic came it would be brought about in peace and friendship. It would, though not necessarily in outward form, be the Republic of Paul Kruger, which meant that neither its foundation nor the motive for its establishment would be based on hatred or revenge. He went on to say that Paul Kruger was a great man in his time but often a lapse of time makes great men appear smaller. In the case of Paul Kruger, however, he continued to grow in the eyes of his people. During his lifetime he had always looked to the future and in his final message to his people he prayed that they would take from the past all that is good and true and build for the future thereon. The Prime Minister said that that appeal has been responded to, because today their own language is safe and respected and they have built up a culture by themselves. Only 50 years since the death of Kruger, South Africa is today a sovereign independent country with an indisputable right in the constitutional sphere to determine its own future. It might be asked, he went on to say, whether Kruger's vision included the re-establishment of a Republic in South Africa. In reply, the Prime Minister said that Kruger knew no freedom other than Republican freedom and if the facts were faced there would be no doubt that a Republic would come. This particular refrain was taken up by several of the other speakers.

7. Generally, it can be said that the Kruger statue symbolises the Afrikaner struggle for recognition without any sacrifice of identity. One would have thought that, at the present stage of South Africa's political development, an appropriate note would have been some emphasis that the day's ceremony had marked the fulfilment of the old struggle and has marked the need for a new task of harmony and unity amidst diversity. One would have also thought that a note would also have been struck at such a ceremony for the South African people to dedicate themselves to build a new and happier relationship between the Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans. This sentiment, however, was completely missing in all the speeches except that during the early morning ceremony at the graveside of Kruger, Mr. Strydom, the Minister of Lands, who gave the main address, casually remarked that unity between the Afrikaans and English-speaking citizens was necessary for the future welfare of South Africa.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

PART II.

8. The next day, October 12th, the press reported that a sudden and unusual meeting of the Cabinet had been held in the late evening of October 11th attended by all the members of the Cabinet except Mr. Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, when the Prime Minister made the dramatic announcement of his irrevocable decision to resign on November 30th along with the statement that the caucus would name his successor as leader of the Party.

9. The history and beliefs of Dr. Malan are generally well-known. His career was inspired by a determination to revise the spirit and foster the aspirations of the Afrikaans people characterised by the Republic of Paul Kruger. He succeeded largely in achieving some of his important aims through dogged persistence and perseverance. He was born in 1874 of Huguenot extraction, was educated at Stellenbosch University, South Africa, and then at Utrecht University in Holland, where he became a Doctor of Theology. Until 1915 he was a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at various centres in the Union and then he became Chief Editor of "Die Burger", which is now the leading Nationalist organ in South Africa. As a Dutch Reformed Church Minister and as Editor of "Die Burger" he did much to promote the Afrikaans language and culture. After nine years as Editor he entered politics and in 1924 he became Minister of Health, Interior and Education in General Hertzog's first administration. He would not serve in the coalition government of Smuts and Hertzog in 1933 and became leader of the so-called purified National Party and Leader of the Opposition. With the commencement of the second World War in 1939 he supported General Hertzog in his policy of neutrality, claiming that the war was no concern of the Union and that his main role would be to oppose any Union participation in the War. He made way for Hertzog in the re-united National Party but, with the retirement of Hertzog, he again became Leader of the Opposition. After 14 years of opposition he became Prime Minister for the first time in 1948 and has subsequently entrenched himself firmly in the eyes of the Afrikaner as the champion of Afrikanerdom. At times he has unduly asserted South African rights, particularly in the political sphere, when the rest of the world and the Commonwealth have taken them for granted. He has always been a staunch Republican by conviction but his attitude towards the United Kingdom Government, the rest of the Commonwealth and towards the Royal Family have always been correct. He is learned, cultured and astute, and probably the ablest politician the Afrikaners have produced. In South Africa the late General Smuts has often been accused of running a one man Cabinet, spending too much time in the international arena instead of looking after the local political situation, and also of allowing his colleagues little responsibility or discretion. Be this true or not, Dr. Malan has made no such mistake. Indeed, he has at times given his Cabinet members such latitude that they sometimes speak with entirely different voices on the one subject to the confusion of the South African people and the outside world. Some of his ideals have been realised during his term as Prime Minister. At the outset of his regime the policy of apartheid was ill-defined and subject to various connotations. It still is so in many respects, but the policy is now reasonably well-defined. He has failed to realise some of his aims in the establishment of a Republic, in the incorporation of the British Protectorates in the Union, in obtaining a solution of the Cape Coloured question and in the conversion of the English-speaking people to the Nationalist ideal.

10. Naturally, there has been much speculation as to the successor to Dr. Malan and many people feel that it is a matter for regret that the public should have to wait for six weeks at a time when

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

South African internal and international problems are acute. The consensus of opinion is that the succession will lie between Mr. J.G. Strydom and Mr. N.C. Havenga, with Dr. T.E. Dönges as a possible outsider. Eighteen months ago my Official Secretary and I both heard from well-informed political quarters that Dr. Malan would resign some time this year and that for the rest of the life of the present Parliament his place would be taken by Mr. Havenga with Mr. Strydom following as the leader of the Party for the next elections in 1958. This rumour could not be substantiated and was consequently not reported, for the main personages were very silent on the question. The Prime Minister exercises a tremendous influence on his Party and no doubt any indication of preference by him would carry very grave weight. I am informed by both the editors of "Die Burger" and "Die Transvaler", who have known him and worked with him for over 40 years, that he has never canvassed anyone or forced his own views on the Party with regard to any preferences or appointments, and they are certain that he will continue to adopt this attitude, even to the extent of absenting himself from the caucus meeting when the new leader will be elected. As a consequence, the Nationalist papers are all significantly silent as to Dr. Malan's successor. It is known from public statements they have made, from speeches in the House and from views of their colleagues that there are wide differences between Mr. Havenga and Mr. Strydom. Mr. Havenga is regarded as a moderate, with a high international reputation and is believed to be opposed to another attack on the courts. On the other hand, Mr. Strydom constantly insists that there is no necessity for a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of both Houses to overrule the entrenched clauses of the Act of Union in regard to the Coloured Vote. On this latter point Mr. Strydom, in a recent speech before the Transvaal Congress of the Party, of which he is President, said there could be no compromise on the Cape Coloured question and that drastic legislation would be necessary to establish the sovereignty of Parliament beyond any doubt. Thus, the question arises as to whether Mr. Strydom, who has a caucus majority and who has also the support of Mr. Swart, Minister of Justice and leader of the Orange Free State Nationalists, would be prepared to accept Mr. Havenga and to shelve the Coloured Voters Bill. There is no doubt that Mr. Strydom has mellowed in recent years and his close friends assure me that he is not an extremist. As to the Republic of which he speaks so much, he says that a referendum or a special election would be necessary and the Government must have an overwhelming majority. The real extremist of the Party is Dr. Verwoerd, Minister for Native Affairs, who, with a small group of fanatics, is prepared to push apartheid to extremes. He is regarded as one who would not compromise on an issue such as the Cape Coloured Bill and who would feel that if Mr. Strydom surrendered this point he had let the Party down.

11. As to Dr. Dönges, although he is regarded as having only an outside chance, he is looked upon as one of the real intellectuals of the Party and his stocks in caucus are rising. Last year, following the resignation of Dr. Malan as leader of the National Party in the Cape, he was surprisingly elected as leader over Mr. Eric Louw, the lieutenant of Mr. Strydom.

12. Thus there are several elements in the picture which might well lead to tension and even disunity in the National Party. The formation of a splinter group under the leadership of Dr. Verwoerd cannot be ruled out of contemplation. All this indicates that the retirement of Dr. Malan may well lead to a changed political situation. During the whole history of the

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Union there have been only four Prime Ministers - General Botha, General Hertzog, General Smuts and Dr. Malan. In their time, they have all dominated the political life of the country and their own parties. Indeed, it might well be true to say that South African politics have revolved around personalities rather than principles, and November 30th may well usher in a new political era.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. R. HODGSON

(W.R. Hodgson)
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Minister for External Affairs,

CANBERRA, A.C.T.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

PRETORIA, MONDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1954 (Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.)

UNDERC
LOWEST PRICI

The crowd on Church Square this morning was estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000. This picture, taken from the roof of the Reserve Bank, gives an idea of the vast concourse of people which assembled to witness the unveiling ceremony.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The Sydney Morning Herald
Published at: Sydney
File No: 201/2/2/1
Date: Dec 1st 1954

Central

REPUBLICAN NEW PREMIER OF SOUTH AFRICA

PRETORIA, Tuesday.

The South African Parliamentary Caucus to-day elected Nationalist Party extremist, Mr. Johannes Strijdom, as the new Premier.

Mr. Strijdom was chosen to replace the former Premier, 80-year-old Dr. Daniel J. Malan, over the more moderate Mr. Nicolaas Havenga.

He is South Africa's fifth Premier since the Union was founded in 1910.

Dr. Malan, who officially retires at midnight to-night, after six years in office, wanted Mr. Havenga to follow him as Nationalist Party Leader and Premier.

Observers had said that Mr. Havenga's failure could threaten party unity, but Caucus elected Mr. Stijdom unanimously after Mr. Havenga withdrew his nomination.

Mr. Stijdom is an extreme advocate of racial segregation and has consistently sought Republican status for South Africa.

He was Nationalist Leader in Transvaal and Minister for Lands in the present Government.

Mr. Havenga, who is Finance Minister, said after the meeting he would retire to his Free State farm.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

CABLEGRAM. UNCLASSIFIED

JG:HMcC

I.13634

Dated: 30th November, 1954.
1136
Rec'd: 1st December, 1954.
0830

FROM:-
Australian High Commissioner's Office,
P R E T O R I A.

78. UNCLASSIFIED. IMMEDIATE.

J.G. Strijdom elected unopposed Prime Minister by Caucus this morning.

Details will be forwarded by bag.

MIN. & DEPT. E.A.
P.M'S.

1st December, 1954.

SEC A/Ss CR(L&T) UN WEST [illegible] CEN CONFEL?
INF DL C & P

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Extract from THE ECONOMIST, September, 18, 1954.

201/2/2/158

(23)

MALAN SEEKS FOR REINFORCEMENTS.
From our Correspondent in South Africa.

The Nationalist Party in South Africa, so long an opponent of large-scale immigration, has recently begun to change its tune. Last June the senior mouth-piece of the party Die Burger came out with the surprising plea for more "good white citizens" to fill the depleted ranks of skilled technicians and artisans. The theme has been echoed in other sections of the government press. Naturally, these papers claimed, the fault was not of the government's making; it was the sole responsibility of the hostile critics who painted so awful a picture of South Africa to the outside world.

This revolutionary change of emphasis gathered more strength when Dr. Geyer, former South African High Commissioner in London, returned to the Union after a 7,000 mile trip through East and Central Africa, a convinced supporter of the need for greater European immigration. Here, from one of Dr. Malan's closest advisers, was the green light to the rest of the Nationalist propaganda team to prepare the public for a change of direction. But despite the dawning recognition of the imperative need for white immigration, the Nationalist Party has not departed one inch from its aim of excluding from the country any but possible sympathisers and supporters of the Party. Die Volksblad, the Nationalist organ in the Free State, had an article comparing the success of the government's policy of selected immigrants with the dire consequences that would have followed if "the United Party had remained in power and Field Marshal Smuts's threat to import bad and good from Britain had been carried out." However, the paper concluded, it was necessary to find out whether the selection policy was "too restrictive."

Between 1945 and 1948 South Africa gained 78,055 immigrants. A peak was reached in 1948, when 35,631 entered the country; but so successfully did Dr. Donges turn off the tap that in 1949 the number dropped to 14,780. The highest inflow since then is 18,473 in 1952, with a total of 77,556 for the period 1949 to 1953. In some months during this period the Union actually lost population through a higher emigration than immigration rate. Since the war the Union has attracted approximately 160,000 new settlers - one of the lowest intakes in the Commonwealth.

Skills for the Volk.

For some time after the Nationalists came to power in 1948, they defended their anti-immigration policy by arguing that the "absorptive capacity" of the Union was not great enough to cope with more than a limited number of immigrants. But it soon became clear that the country's mining and industrial expansion, combined with a rigid application of the colour bar, had produced a desperate need for skilled labour. To-day the country has reached the position where a grievous shortage of skilled workers in nearly every sphere of the Union's economic life is threatening to hamstring development. In the largest State undertaking, for instance, the railways, the shortage of artisans is so serious that essential work is held up and the whole transport system is suffering. This pattern is repeated in other sections of the economy, especially the engineering and building industries, while in commerce, generally, there is a definite need for men and women of enterprise and ability. In addition there is a grave shortage of school teachers in all provinces.

But as recently as May this year, Dr. Donges defended his government's attitude by saying that its immigration policy had regard to the "long-term interests of South Africa," which, in political terms, has been taken to mean the political interests of the Nationalist Party. The government, he added, would only encourage i migrants who could be "properly absorbed" in the Union's economy. The powerful Dutch Reformed Church, again, is vigorously opposed to bringing Catholics or "disbelievers" into the country.

The Provincial Council elections have now persuaded some Nationalist leaders that they are no longer in any immediate danger of being politically swamped by newcomers or foreigners; and anyway there is Dr. Donges's Citizenship Act to ensure that no immigrant will vote before he has been in the country six years. And on top of this is the undisputed fact that the numerical preponderance of the Afrikaans-speaking section, from which the

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

57

Nationalists draw their support, is growing steadily greater, so that a few foreigners can hardly upset the Nationalists' political applecard at this stage. All this has combined to produce less timidity in some Nationalist circles about immigration.

But it is quite obvious that the immigration net is being spread to let in as many "acceptable" Hollanders and Germans and as few Britishers as can decently be allowed. This has not been more explicitly stated than by a leading Nationalist journalist and author, Dr. G.D..Scholtz, who is one of Dr. Verwoerd's proteges. In a remarkably outspoken book, "Has the Afrikaner Volk a Future?" he says that immigration is essential if the Afrikaner is to maintain himself. But, he adds emphatically, the immigrants must come from Holland and Germany and must be Protestants. Moreover, he deals at length with the need for turning immigrants into Afrikaners (in this context, Nationalists) through church, school and cultural organisations - which is precisely what Nationalist practice and policy has been doing for and to as many South African children as possible.

Whether it is due to the government's lack of enthusiasm for British immigrants or whether Britons are no longer interested in coming to South Africa, the fact remains that there has been a dramatic change in the proportion of British and non-British immigrants since Dr. Donges took charge of this department. Of the immigrants who entered the Union from 1945 to the end of 1953, 111,600 were British (77,600 had come by the end of 1948), 17,800 were Dutch and 15,700 were German. Between 1948 and 1953 the proportions changed considerably, the totals being 34,000 British, 14,500 Dutch and 15,000 German. In 1953 the number of British immigrants was 5,000, compared with 30,000 in 1948. In the latter year the number of German immigrants totalled 270; by last year it was 2,800.

Cynics may be excused for saying that the Malan government, having missed the immigration bus, is now advocating a pale imitation of its opponents' immigration policy in the almost certain knowledge that the trickle from Europe will never grow strong enough to make a real impact on South Africa. It is in need of skilled manpower, but at the same time it is too jealous and selfish to allow its indigenous millions of non-whites to acquire the skills.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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(orig on 201/11/1)

56

CONFIDENTIAL Bl. 5 (22)

SOUTH AFRICA: REPUBLICANISM AND DR. MALAN'S RETIREMENT

Republican Ceremonies in Pretoria

The highlight of the four days' programme of ceremonies in celebration of the Kruger anniversary was the unveiling of the statue of President Kruger, with its four figures at the base, in Church Square, the heart of Pretoria, on October 11th, 1954.

The siting of the statue in Church Square is regarded as symbolical of the whole Afrikaner struggle for recognition on the basis of full equality. The ceremonies, and particularly the unveiling, were an expression of the emotional fulfilment of most of the ideals of the Afrikaner race. Political recognition and equality were early and generously given to the Afrikaner race after the South African War. Economic recognition and independence came more slowly but since then there has been social recognition in full measure. The Afrikaner race has not been submerged, nor absorbed, nor repressed, and the unveiling of the statue typifies another stage in its advance. It has travelled far along the road of its final objectives.

The ceremony itself was most colourful. Church Square, was packed with an estimated attendance of 40,000 people, the majority of whom were clearly charged with the old fervour of Transvaal Republicanism. This was exemplified by the prevalence of the old Vierkleur, the flag of the former Transvaal Republic, and the acclamation with which every reference to the old Kruger Republic was received.

The ceremony was well done although it was unduly drawn out, occupying two and a half hours. At the opening, massed bands played the old Transvaal Republican Anthem which was repeated throughout the ceremony at intervals, whilst after the actual unveiling the Union anthem, "Die Stem van Suid Afrika", was played. It was very noticeable to Commonwealth representatives that even with the arrival of the Governor-General at Church Square and at the subsequent official luncheon, the National Anthem and the Royal Toast were omitted. The same can be said for the flying of the Union Jack which was only noticed on buildings owned by English-speaking firms, and, although the Flag Act provides for the flying of the Union Jack and Union Flag side by side on all official occasions, only the Union's flag was displayed. Indeed, the whole of the ceremonies throughout the four days were of a purely Republican character demonstrating Republican sentiments and conducted entirely in the Afrikaans language.

At the unveiling ceremony Mr. Strydom, Minister of Lands, acted as Chairman, introducing the various speakers, the main ones being the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Kruger Committee, the Provincial Administrators and the President of the Senate. All the speeches were moderate in tone and followed a similar texture of thought. The speech of the Prime Minister was given the closest attention. Regarded as the outstanding Afrikaner orator in the Union, it was noticed that his speech lacked fire and that he was visibly frailer. This may have some bearing on the second portion of this despatch dealing with the surprise announcement of his resignation the same evening.

During the course of his speech, Dr. Malan stated that when the Republic came it would be brought about in peace and friendship. It would, though not necessarily in outward form, be the Republic of Paul Kruger, which meant that neither its foundation nor the motive for its establishment would be based on hatred or revenge. He went on to say that Paul Kruger was a

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Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

great man in his time but often a lapse of time makes great men appear smaller. In the case of Paul Kruger, however, he continued to grow in the eyes of his people. During his lifetime he had always looked to the future and in his final message to his people he prayed that they would take from the past all that is good and true and build for the future thereon. The Prime Minister said that that appeal has been responded to, because today their own language is safe and respected and they have built up a culture by themselves. Only 50 years since the death of Kruger, South Africa is today a sovereign independent country with an indisputable right in the constitutional sphere to determine its own future. It might be asked, he went on to say, whether Kruger's vision included the re-establishment of a Republic in South Africa. In reply, the Prime Minister said that Kruger knew no freedom other than Republican freedom and if the facts were faced there would be no doubt that a Republic would come. This particular refrain was taken up by several of the other speakers.

Generally, it can be said that the Kruger statue symbolises the Afrikaner struggle for recognition without any sacrifice of identity. One would have thought that, at the present stage of South Africa's political development, an appropriate note would have been some emphasis that the day's ceremony had marked the fulfilment of the old struggle and has marked the need for a new task of establishing harmony and unity amidst diversity. One would have also thought that a note would also have been struck at such a ceremony for the South African people to dedicate themselves to build a new and happier relationship between the Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans. This sentiment, however, was completely missing in all the speeches except that during the early morning ceremony at the graveside of Kruger, Mr. Strydom, the Minister of Lands, who gave the main address, casually remarked that unity between the Afrikaans and English-speaking citizens was necessary for the future welfare of South Africa.

Resignation of Dr. Malan

The next day, October 12th, the press reported that a sudden and unusual meeting of the Cabinet had been held in the late evening of October 11th attended by all the members of the Cabinet except Mr. Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, when the Prime Minister made the dramatic announcement of his irrevocable decision to resign on November 30th along with the statement that the caucus would name his successor as leader of the Party.

Formerly a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, and then Chief Editor of Die Burger, which is now the chief Nationalist organ in South Africa, Dr. Malan entered politics and in 1924, after nine years as a newspaper editor, became Minister of Health, Interior and Education in General Hertzog's first administration. He would not serve in the coalition government of Smuts and Hertzog in 1933 and became leader of the so-called purified National Party and Leader of the Opposition. After fourteen years of opposition he became Prime Minister for the first time in 1948 and has subsequently entrenched himself firmly in the eyes of the Afrikaner and the champion of Afrikanerdom. At times he has unduly asserted South African rights, particularly in the political sphere, when the rest of the world and the Commonwealth have taken them for granted. He has always been a staunch Republican by conviction but his attitude towards the United Kingdom Government, the rest of the Commonwealth and towards the Royal Family have always been correct. He is learned, cultured and astute, and probably the ablest politician the Afrikaners have produced. In South Africa the late General Smuts has often been accused of running a one man Cabinet, spending too much time in the international arena instead of looking after the local political situation, and also of allowing his colleagues

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

little responsibility or discretion. Be this true or not, Dr. Malan has made no such mistake. Indeed, he has at times given his Cabinet members such latitude that they sometimes speak with entirely different voices on the one subject to the confusion of the South African people and the outside world. Some of his ideals have been realised during his term as Prime Minister. At the outset of his regime the policy of apartheid was ill-defined and subject to various connotations. It still is so in many respects, but the policy is now reasonably well-defined. He has failed to realise some of his aims in the establishment of a Republic, in the incorporation of the British Protectorates in the Union, in obtaining a solution of the Cape Coloured question and in the conversion of the English-speaking people to the Nationalist ideal.

Naturally, there has been much speculation as to the successor to Dr. Malan and many people feel that it is a matter for regret that the public should have to wait for six weeks at a time when South African internal and international problems are acute. The consensus of opinion is that the succession will lie between Mr. J.G. Strydom and Mr. N.C. Havenga, with Dr. T.E. Donges as a possible outsider. Eighteen months ago my Official Secretary and I both heard from well-informed political quarters that Dr. Malan would resign some time this year and that for the rest of the life of the present Parliament his place would be taken by Mr. Havenga with Mr. Strydom following as the leader of the Party for the next elections in 1958. This rumour could not be substantiated and was consequently not reported, for the main personages were very silent on the question. The Prime Minister exercises a tremendous influence on his Party and no doubt any indication of preference by him would carry very grave weight. I am informed by both the editors of "Die Burger" and "Die Transvaler", who have known him and worked with him for over 40 years, that he has never canvassed anyone or forced his own views on the Party with regard to any preferences or appointments, and they are certain that he will continue to adopt this attitude, even to the extent of absenting himself from the caucus meeting when the new leader will be elected. As a consequence, the Nationalist papers are all significantly silent as to Dr. Malan's successor. It is known from public statements they have made, from speeches in the House and from views of their colleagues that there are wide differences between Mr. Havenga and Mr. Strydom. Mr. Havenga is regarded as a moderate, with a high international reputation and is believed to be opposed to another attack on the courts. On the other hand, Mr. Strydom constantly insists that there is no necessity for a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of both Houses to overrule the entrenched clauses of the Act of Union in regard to the Coloured Vote. On this latter point Mr. Strydom, in a recent speech before the Transvaal Congress of the Party, of which he is President, said there could be no compromise on the Cape Coloured question and that drastic legislation would be necessary to establish the sovereignty of Parliament beyond any doubt. Thus, the question arises as to whether Mr. Strydom has mellowed in recent years and his close friends assure me that he is not an extremist. As to the Republic of which he speaks so much, he says that a referendum or a special election would be necessary and the Government must have an overwhelming majority. The real extremist of the Party is Dr. Verwoerd, Minister for Native Affairs, who, with a small group of fanatics, is prepared to push apartheid to extremes. He is regarded as one who would not compromise on an issue such as the Cape Coloured Bill and who would feel that if Mr. Strydom surrendered this point he had let the Party down.

As to Dr. Donges, although he is regarded as having only an outside chance, he is looked upon as one of the real intellectuals of the Party and his stocks in caucus are rising. Last year, following the resignation of Dr. Malan as leader of the

/National Party

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

National Party in the Cape, he was surprisingly elected as leader over Mr. Eric Louw, the lieutenant of Mr. Strydom.

Thus there are several elements in the picture which might well lead to tension and even disunity in the National Party. The formation of a splinter group under the leadership of Dr. Verwoerd cannot be ruled out of contemplation. All this indicates that the retirement of Dr. Malan may well lead to a changed political situation. During the whole history of the Union there have been only four Prime Ministers - General Botha, General Hertzog, General Smuts and Dr. Malan. In their time, they have all dominated the political life of the country and their own parties. Indeed, it might well be true to say that South African politics have revolved around personalities rather than principles, and November 30th may well usher in a new political era.

Pretoria, Despatch No. 10,
15th October, 1954.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

- 2 NOV 1954
201/2/2/1

54

(21)

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION.
CENTRAL HOUSE, PRETORIUS STREET,
PRETORIA.

In reply quote No. 3/2/7/

26th October, 1954.

MEMO NO.
401

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AFRICA: NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS, CAPE PROVINCE.

The annual congress of the National Party in the Cape Province was opened at George, Cape Province, by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. the Hon. T. E. Dönges, on Wednesday, 20th October, 1954. The congress, which spent most of the day in committee, unanimously elected Dr. Dönges as leader of the Party in the Cape Province.

2. On the evening of 20th October Dr. Malan took leave of his party's congress in the Cape. This leave-taking, which attracted thousands of people to George, completely overshadowed the ordinary business of the congress. In his farewell address, Dr. Malan reviewed the history of the Afrikaner people and affirmed that his object had been not to isolate the Afrikaans-speaking section, but to bring together all those South Africans who had interests in common, no matter what language they spoke. In 1919 he and seven others had gone to the Peace Conference not only to demand sovereign independence for South Africa, but also republican independence; his republicanism had been long-standing and consistent. While strongly criticising Mr. Strauss' anti-republican statement at the Cape United Party congress, Dr. Malan said that propaganda for a republic must be controlled propaganda, and that the republican issue must not be raised at a general election. If that were done, the Opposition would grasp at it and not only ruin the republican ideal, but also the ideal of apartheid. Dr. Malan made a final plea for the avoidance within the party of personal jealousies, provincialism and sectionalism.

3. It would appear that the retiring Prime Minister is fully convinced that the time has not yet arrived for the declaration of a republic in South Africa.

copy to 201/1/1 R.S.

(K. T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

/MJM

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

53

TELEGRAMS: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA."
TELEPHONE: 2-0854.

In reply quote No. 3/1/2/

cc. 3/2/7

AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSION,
CENTRAL HOUSE, PRETORIUS STREET,
PRETORIA.

13th October, 1954.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
18 OCT 1954
201/2/2/1
CANBERRA

MEMO NO. 382

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE RETIREMENT FROM POLITICAL LIFE OF THE PRIME MINISTER, DR. D. F. MALAN

On the afternoon of Kruger Day, which was held this year on Monday, 11th October, 1954, the Prime Minister, Dr. the Hon. D. F. Malan, summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Union Cabinet and informed his colleagues of his irrevocable decision to retire from active political life on 30th November, 1954.

2. According to the political correspondent of the Afrikaans-language newspaper "Die Vaderland" (Johannesburg) of 12th October, 1954, the Prime Minister's intimation means that Dr. Malan will step down from the office of Prime Minister, will tender his resignation as Member of Parliament for Piketberg, and will retire as national leader of the National Party.

3. Dr. Malan's retirement will be the subject of an early despatch from my High Commissioner.

(K. T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

(Copy on 201/2/1)

/MJM

→ K Peasley

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

52

Name of Paper: The New York Times File No: 201/2/2/1

Published at: New York Date: 21st September, 1954

MALANISTS' SPLIT COMES INTO OPEN

Strydom and Prime Minister Clash Over Party Policy on Republic Issue

By ALBION ROSS

Special to The New York Times.

PRETORIA, South Africa, Sept. 20—A clash between Dr. Daniel F. Malan, the Prime Minister, and Johannes G. Strydom, second most powerful man in the Nationalist party, has come out into the open. Dr. Malan is rumored to be opposing Mr. Strydom's ambition to become Prime Minister.

Mr. Strydom has now publicly challenged a rebuke administered him by Dr. Malan at the Transvaal Province Nationalist party congress last week. He has flatly contradicted Dr. Malan's statement of policy at the party congress and done publicly what Dr. Malan said party spokesmen should not do.

The issue in question is whether support for the Nationalist party means support for the declaration of a republic and separation from the Crown. Mr. Strydom holds that it does and as the Transvaal leader he controls half the Nationalist vote and half the Nationalist seats in Parliament.

Dr. Malan and the so-called moderates led by Theophilus E. Donges, Minister of Interior, and Nicholas C. Havenga, Minister of Finance, hold that it does not.

Pretoria is buzzing with political speculation. The Opposition press is beginning to rejoice, though cautiously, over indications of a split within the Nationalist party.

The question of succession to Dr. Malan, now 80 years old, is expected to bring trouble. He is expected to retire "before the jacarandas bloom again." This means within the next twelve months, possibly before the next annual party congress. There have been rumors that Mr. Strydom resented Dr. Malan's plans to push him aside despite his political power and put in Mr. Havenga or Mr. Donges as Prime Minister and leader of the Nationalist party.

Mr. Strydom, it is argued here, feels the time has come to begin to fight openly and refuse to be side-tracked.

He has behind him a strong element in the Nationalist party that looks with little favor on the efforts of Dr. Malan, Mr. Donges and Mr. Havenga to win over part of the English-speaking British-oriented two-fifths of the white population.

Mr. Strydom's followers want to concentrate on getting the total support of the three-fifths of the white population who are Afrikaners for the policy of setting up a republic. Dr. Malan is also pledged to this policy but he has grown increasingly cautious and conservative and has been seeking some basis for white national unity against the Negro majority population.

Central

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

51

(19)

TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"

REFERENCE No. 3/2/71 9847

AFFAIRS
22 SEP 1954
201/2/2/1
CANBERRA.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CENTRAL HOUSE
PRETORIUS STREET
PRETORIA

Memo. No. 320

16th September, 1954.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

South Africa : Transvaal Provincial Congress of the National Party.

During the months of September, October and November, the several political parties of the Union hold their Provincial and National Party Congresses. Of the Provincial Congresses recently opened probably the most significant was that of the National Party in the Transvaal inaugurated by the Minister of Lands, Mr. J.G. Strydom, at Pretoria on Tuesday, 14th September.

2. In the course of his address Mr. Strydom said:-

" Opponents of the National Party some times try with syrupy words to make the Party deviate from its course. These people say that they will support the National Party and co-operate with it if it would only abandon its republican aims or its intention to re-establish the sovereignty of Parliament.

To these people I want to say that the National Party, unlike the United Party, does not produce a new formulation of its policy with every new moon.

The National Party developed to its present position of strength because it has always stated its policy and aims clearly and honestly so that the public knows exactly what it is aiming at. We are not prepared to listen to the siren song of the United Party. It is necessary to remind supporters of the National Party that patience is required to achieve certain aims. Obstacles in the path of these aims have first to be removed. The republican struggle is one of these aims. It can only be achieved on the broad basis of the will of the people when there is an adequate majority for it. The recent Provincial Elections have shown again that the National Party is advancing rapidly along the path to attaining this majority.

Opposition criticism that a republic will lead to South Africa's isolation is nonsense. Whether a country is a republic or a monarchy other nations will have to stand together with it if resistance to Communism is needed.

Another National aim is to establish the sovereignty of Parliament. The Government's policy in this regard is clear and irrevocable. It cannot change its course because of talk about possible support for this or for that, if we only abandon our attitude to re-establish the sovreignty of Parliament. A third national objective is apartheid. A total apartheid would be the ideal solution if it was practical but a political party has to be practical and realistic and can only accept as an immediate policy something which can be implemented and which the voters will accept.

R/s 20/11

(copy on 201/11/1)
Seen by M. Oldham
Bl.D.

This should be marked for re-submission to Mr Oldham on his return 27/9

→ Mr Hall – Malan's statement is the clearest I have seen from him and shows that he has separated the questions of republican and Commonwealth status. Bl.D

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

50

16th September, 1954.

"In view of present circumstances, the National Party cannot advocate a policy of total apartheid. Nevertheless, it has progressed much further than the policy which existed when General Hertzog was applying the segregation policy.

Since then the National Party has been demanding the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll, separate residential areas and group areas, control of the influx of natives into the cities, the prohibition of mixed marriages, and the enforcement of apartheid on trains and in other spheres.

As circumstances change - and the White man's position becomes more urgent - future generations, without doubt, will go much further with their apartheid measures than we have gone with ours.

Eventually, for self-preservation, and peace between White and Non-White, they may consider themselves obliged to introduce total apartheid - if the voters will accept it then, it will be a practical policy.

For the present, we have gone as far as we can."

3. On Wednesday, September 15th, 1954, the Prime Minister, Dr. D.F. Malan, addressed the Transvaal Congress of his party and, pointing to floodlit copy of a Transvaal Republican Coat of Arms, he said:-

" The restoration of that Coat of Arms as the Coat of Arms of the Transvaal is a sign of the direction in which we are moving.

(1) A republic will be established democratically as a result of the will of the majority of voters expressed in a special referendum at which only this question will be decided. To be strong and stable, the republic must be the wish of the broad majority. It will be a republic under which the rights of all sections of the population will be protected. The fear of the English section that a republic will mean the end of their rights and oppression by the Afrikaner majority must be removed. It must be made clear that equal language rights will be maintained and that all will be able to feel at home under the republic.

(2) The question whether the republic will remain within the Commonwealth will not necessarily be decided at the same time. When it is decided, it will be decided solely on the basis of the best interests of South Africa.

The association between the members of the Commonwealth is an entirely voluntary one. Any member can leave the Commonwealth at any time without giving any reasons.

Whether or not South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth does not affect her sovereign independence.

The establishment of a republic and leaving the Commonwealth are two separate questions, which need not be answered together, and only South Africa's best interests should decide the answer to the second one when the time comes.

When considering whether South Africa should cease to be a member of the Commonwealth, attention should be paid to the question whether the Union is strong enough to stand by itself.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

" We are living in a dangerous age. We never know when war may happen. In the event of a war we will need allies.

South Africa is, however, already in a position where her interests are closer to those of some nations outside the Commonwealth than to those of some members of the Commonwealth.

She is already well on the way to reach close agreement with some of those nations outside the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth, unfortunately, now follows a course which can only lead to its destruction.

One of the main reasons why the nations of the Commonwealth could remain united in the past was (that they shared) common interests and ideas in respect of international affairs. This common interest is rapidly disappearing. A more serious position threatening the future of the Commonwealth is the fact that certain members of the Commonwealth are now interfering with the household matters of others.

Although the appeal court has taken upon itself to interfere with Parliament's legislation dealing with the Coloured vote, the court's decision does not affect the right of Parliament to pass what legislation it sees fit on any but the two questions covered by the entrenched clauses. The attempt to place the Coloured voters on a separate roll by means of legislation passed with a two-thirds majority at a joint session of Parliament will not be repeated unless sufficient proof is received this month or next month that the Government will receive the necessary majority.

In the meantime, the Cabinet will consider other legislation to be introduced if the Government is not assured of a two-thirds majority. I can give the assurance that the goal strived at will be reached."

4. The Congress re-elected Mr. Strydom as leader of the Party in the Transvaal.

(K.T. Kelly)
FIRST SECRETARY.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The New York Times — File No: 201/2/2/1

Published at: New York — Date: 31st July, 1954

MALAN PRESS SEES END OF ISOLATION

Special to The New York Times.

PRETORIA, South Africa, July 30—The Nationalist party press of Premier Daniel F. Malan is warning South Africans that withdrawal of the British from the Suez Canal zone means the end of any hope of isolation for South Africa.

Dr. Malan and the Afrikaner Nationalist movement, then the Opposition, adopted during World War II a policy of complete neutrality and isolation. The moderate Nationalist Premier, Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog, resigned in 1939 rather than have any part in South African participation in the war. Isolationalist tradition is very strong here.

However, Die Transvaler, extreme organ of Nationalist isolationism, hostility to Britain and foreign entanglements, reversed the normal isolationist outlook of Afrikaner nationalists in an editorial this morning. The paper is the organ of the Transvaal Province Nationalist party, which has the largest block of seats in the South African Parliament. It said:

"The British-Egyptian agreement in regard to the Suez Canal means that the Union of South Africa is involved much more deeply in international affairs than has been the case to date. Geography and political developments are responsible and nothing that the Union can do can bring a change.

"Every inhabitant of South Africa must take this fact into reckoning. They must realize that political events everywhere in the world now affect their own position. Under such conditions an attitude of indifference to what is happening abroad has become impossible."

Central

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

47

(17)

201/2/1

24th June, 1954.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SITUATION

MR. ECKERSLEY
MR. PLIMSOLL
MR. OLDHAM

Dr. Malan has over recent months surprisingly revived two issues, in neither of which he can have hoped for success.

On 12th April he asked the South African Assembly for its unanimous support on the question of the handing over by Britain of the three High Commission Territories (Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland), in order to 'strengthen his hand' before he resumed negotiations. The previous years of negotiations - from 1913 until they were interrupted by the war in 1939 - he described as "futile". Dr. Malan's request was made in spite of the fact that the Assembly had already given its unanimous approval in 1950 to a resumption of negotiations - an endorsement of which he had not availed himself. His request was made, too, despite the certainty that the Opposition would not lend its support (as indeed it did not), believing as it did that, although the Union was unanimous in its desire that the Protectorates should be transferred, opinion in the United Kingdom and the Protectorates themselves seemed to be unanimously against a transfer. In the event, Dr. Malan received a reply far faster than he could have anticipated, when Sir Winston Churchill on 13th April declared in the House of Commons that the Protectorates would not be transferred at present, hinting at the same time that the reason was the existence of opposition to such a transfer in the Protectorates themselves.

The second issue concerned his long standing effort to bring apartheid nearer to reality by removing the Cape Province Coloured voters from the common electoral roll. Four previous attempts to enact a Separate Representation of the Voters Bill had failed. Such an Act, involving the repeal of entrenched clauses of the Constitution, requires a two-thirds majority of a Joint Sitting of both Houses of Parliament. Dr. Malan's fifth attempt commenced when he re-submitted the original Bill in September last; after it had been referred to a Joint Select Committee, which proposed no changes, it was debated by a Joint Sitting of both Houses during May. Rather surprisingly, the Government agreed to amend the Bill largely along lines suggested by the Leader of the Independent United Party, whereby the Coloured voters at present on the Cape Province common roll would choose whether they wished to remain on it, while those who became eligible after 30th June would be enrolled on a new Cape Coloured roll, the elections on which would choose Europeans to represent them in Parliament. As a result of this amendment, the Bill failed by only 9 votes to obtain the necessary 138 votes for a two-thirds majority.

201/2/2/1

(orig. on 201/2/1)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

The question arises why Dr. Malan should at this juncture have almost unreasonably revived these two apparently hopeless causes, the failure of which might have been expected to weaken his position. There would seem to be three possibleanswers - always assuming that his actions were not due to an irascibility of old age or to a religious crusading zeal.

In the first place his revival of the British High Commission Territories issue may have been designed to stimulate Boer nationalism. This would be achieved not only by bringing the question of the future of the Territories to public attention again, but also by placing the United Kingdom in the position of having to reject the South African demand. Stimulation of Boer nationalism could be expected to increase the chances of the National~~ist of the Nationalist~~ Party during the Provincial elections at present taking place. It would also stretch further the relations between South Africa and the United Kingdom; but it is difficult to believe that such a result was intended, except for internal vote catching purposes.

The second reason likewise concerns the present Provincial elections. By placing the divided Opposition in the position of having to reject the Separate Representation of the Voters Bill, Dr. Malan could have hoped to discredit them in the eyes of the electors as being determined to prevent apartheid (a moderate application of which they in fact support). If, by such methods, he could cause a landslide at the Provincial elections, it might be possible for him to hold Parliamentary elections immediately (the present Parliament is 18 months old), thus securing the decisive majority which would give himpower to alter the Constitution at will. Even if he did not contemplate general Parliamentary elections, victory at the Provincial elections could have an important effect on the composition of the Union Parliament within the not--too-distant future, and could perhaps eventually give the Government a two-thirds majority of a Joint Sitting of both Houses. For the Councillors of the Provincial Council of a given Province, together with the Members of the House of Assembly from that Province, constitute a Provincial Electoral College which (in each Province) elects eight Senators to the Union Senate and has the right to fill certain vacancies occuring from time to time in the Senate.

If this assessment of Dr. Malan's motives is at all correct, he appears to have failed in his object. For in the Provincial elections held in Natal Province on 16th June, the United Party (which had dominated the late Provincial Council) was returned with at least 20 of the 25 seats. Elections for the Councils in the other three Provinces of the Union, which are at present dominated by National Party majorities, do not take place until 18th August.

The third reason for Dr. Malan's actions may concern his party. He is now 80, and there are rumours that he is planning to retire soon. It is, of course, possible that he revived the issues under discussion on the off-chance of achieving success and retiring triumphant. It seems more likely, however, that he had the future leadership of his National Party in mind. He would apparently like the moderate Dr. Donges, Minister of the Interior, to succeed him, and already he has passed over to him leadership of the Cape Province Branch of the National Party. Dr. Donges, however, is compromised

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

by his successive failures to remove the Coloured voters from the common roll. Dr. Malan may have hoped to support Dr. Donges' claim to leadership by demonstrating tha his failure was due to the Opposition and not to his own shortcomings. The Prime Minister made it clear that if his motion before the Joint Sitting failed, he would revive his Appeal Court Bill, which would establish a new Appeal Court sympathetic with the National Party's apartheid legislation. He would thus lend further weight to Dr. Donges' candidacy by stealing some of the fire from the more extreme candidates for leadership of the National Party, who, impatient at the slow progress of apartheid, have demanded the establishment of a new Appeal Court.

The main extremist candidates would appear to be Mr. Strijdom, leader of the Transvaal Branch of the Party, and presently Minister of Lands; and Mr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs. Dr. Malan's present deputy, Mr. Havenga, the Finance Minister, who is leader of the Orange Free State Branch of the Party, does not seem to have an outstanding claim to leadership, in view of his past record as leader of the Afrikaner Party and his age (72).

Central Branch
BGD.EMN

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

CONFIDENTIAL

Extract from Foreign Report 6th May, 1954.

WHEN MALAN GOES

There are rumours in Capetown that Dr. Malan who is 80, is planning to retire soon, possibly at the end of the current parliamentary session. He has already shed the leadership of the Cape branch of the Nationalist party, and his supporters fear that the writing is on the wall: the old sure touch is gone, as his bungling of the Protectorates issue, for instance, clearly showed. People are saying that Malan is pressing his ministers to get ahead with all the promised apartheid legislation, so that when he retires he can go out in a blaze of glory, having delivered the goods. Speculation about his successor has narrowed the field to three candidates:

A.- Klaasie Havenga, the able Finance Minister, who is leader of the Orange Free State branch of the Party, has an international reputation; but his position in the Nationalist hierarchy - even though he is officially Malan's deputy - is not assured. He is suspect because at first he stood outside the Nationalist ranks, and only after striking a pretty hard bargain did he amalgamate his Afrikaner party with the Nationalists. Another factor telling against him is his age; he is 72.

B.- Dr. Donges took over Malan's job in the Cape Nationalist party. He has the reputation of being the brains of the Party and its expert on legal and constitutional matters. As a member of the Broederbond, the exclusive secret society which is the real power in the Party, he is a strong candidate; but Nationalists from the Northern provinces (Transvaal and Free State) did not hide their glee at Dr. Donges's discomfiture when his advice on the Coloured voters, and his High Court of Parliament, misfired. They, at any rate, champion their own candidate.

C.- Mr. Johannes Strydom, the boss of the Transvaal Nationalists, who, counting their descent directly from the legendary President Kruger, tend to think themselves superior. Mr. Strydom is popular with the younger and the more extreme elements of the party. Recently he has been playing to the conservative wing by making public statements of studied moderation. His influence in the Party is very strong and he, too, is a member of the Broederbond. An able and ambitious man, he seems to stand the best chance of wearing Malan's mantle.

The Party's Future

What happens to the Party and its policies when Malan goes depends largely on which element of the Nationalists - conservatives or the "wild men" - gain control. From a reliable Nationalist source it is known that the cleavage between the two groups is greater than appears in public. Only by his great reputation and his personal influence has Malan succeeded in papering over the cracks. It appears that a number of the typical boer Party Members are frankly disturbed with the extreme versions of apartheid propagated by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, especially as they foresee labour troubles for themselves on their farms. Another group, of which Mr. Havenga is said to be one, are conscious of the harm done to South Africa economically by ideological anti-black legislation. On the other hand, the extremists are disappointed with the slow progress made towards the Party's goals, and are disillusioned that a Republic has not already been declared.

201/2/2/1

Some people are convinced that there is a good chance of forming a centre coalition comprising the conservative Nationalists, the splinter group Independent United Party, and the right-wing reactionaries still in the United Party, who are more than ever disturbed at the drift of the Party to the left.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

In this event - unlikely as it appears at the moment - Mr. Havenga, if he could be persuaded, would be the obvious leader around whom to rally support.

So many people have been wrong so often in predicting the break-up of the Nationalist party that too much credence should not be given to the latest rumours; but, if Dr. Malan does retire, it is certain that latent disunities in the Party will come to the fore. It will depend very much on the personality of his successor whether the Party will remain intact.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

42

(10)

TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"

REFERENCE No. 3/2/71 6834

Memo. No. 367

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CENTRAL HOUSE
PRETORIUS STREET
PRETORIA

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
1 DEC 1953
201/2/2/1
CANBERRA.

23rd November, 1953.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

National Party.

The months of September, October and November of each year usually witness the holding of provincial party congresses by the several major political parties of the Union.

2. At recent congresses of the National Party, Dr. the Hon. A.J.R. van Rhyn (Minister of Health and Mines) was elected leader of the Party in South-West Africa; the Hon. C.R. Swart (Minister of Justice) was re-elected leader of the Party in the Orange Free State; the Hon. J.G. Strydom, (Minister of Lands and Irrigation) as Leader of the Party in the Transvaal; and the Hon. N.C. Havenga (Minister of Finance) as leader of the Party in Natal. However, the most significant change in National Party provincial leadership took place in the Cape Province at the Cape Provincial Congress of the National Party held at Port Elizabeth on the 18th November, 1953, when Dr. the Hon. D.F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union, and National leader of the National Party announced his relinquishment of the post of Cape Provincial Leader, a position which he has held for the past 40 years.

3. Although it is widely believed that Dr. Malan is preparing to retire from politics on the occasion of his 80th birthday next year, he occasioned the rank and file of his Party some surprise by retiring from the Cape leadership on the 19th instant and by inviting the leaders to proceed at once to the choice of his successor as Cape Provincial Leader. In the event, Dr. the Hon. T.E. Dönges (Minister of the Interior), a protégé of Dr. Malan, easily defeated the Hon. E.H. Louw (Minister of Economic Affairs), a protégé of the Hon. J.G. Strydom, for the Cape Provincial Leadership of the Party. Had Mr. Louw defeated Dr. Donges, Mr. Strydom's claims to the Prime Ministership on the retirement of Dr. Malan would have been greatly strengthened.

4. As matters stand in the National Party, it is believed that the Hon. N.C. Havenga has a reasonably good chance of succeeding Dr. Malan on his retirement from the Prime Ministership and of holding the position for some time. Nevertheless, Dr. Dönges, as Cape Provincial Leader of the Party, must now be considered Mr. Strydom's chief rival for the ultimate succession to Dr. Malan and Mr. Havenga.

(K.T. Kelly)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

Mr Pearce
Please make suitable notations on "Who's Who files" of above-mentioned persons (Quote Item 6)
Copy placed on 201/2/1

P.R. 7/12

8.2.XII.52

C.S

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

RESTRICTED

3/2/7/

cc. 3/4/3/1

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
21 OCT 1953
CANBERRA.

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN.

8th October, 1953.

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 6/53

S i r,

SOUTH AFRICA: AFRIKANER NATIONALISM
AND THE NATIONALIST PARTY

1. The progress of the Afrikaans-speaking National Party is directly related to the growth of particularist sentiment among the Afrikaans-speaking people of the Union. By and large, whatever makes for the strengthening of the Afrikaans-speaking community ultimately contributes to the success at the polls of the National Party. Of the 2,500,000 Europeans of the Union, about 1,500,000 use Afrikaans as their home language. Several recent manifestations of the vitality of the Afrikaans-speaking people are worth recording.

2. In a statement made to the House of Assembly on 7th August, 1953, the Minister of Defence (the Hon. F. C. Erasmus) pointed out that, of the 18,486 youths of the 1935 age group who had been registered for military training, 11,991 had expressed a preference for training in Afrikaans and 6,495 in English, and that the corresponding figures for the 1936 age group were Afrikaans: 12,312, and English: 6,488.

3. In August, 1953, the Cape Provincial Education Department announced that in the Cape Peninsula since 1925 the number of Afrikaans-speaking children at school had increased by nearly 900% whereas the number of English-speaking children had increased in the same time by only 39%, and that, for the Cape Province generally, the Afrikaans school population had increased by 49% since 1934, while the English school population had increased by only 8%. At the present time there are more than twice as many Afrikaans-speaking pupils in Cape Schools as English-speaking pupils, the figures for June, 1952, being 113,668 Afrikaans-speaking pupils and 56,667 English-speaking pupils. Since 1934 the number of bilingually taught pupils has decreased; in that year there were 21,600 such pupils, but in 1951 their number had dropped to 3,851. The majority of English-speaking children now attend exclusively English medium schools, and Afrikaans-speaking children exclusively Afrikaans medium schools.

4. In the religious and cultural spheres the distinctive institutions of the Afrikaner are more than holding their own and in some instances are making extraordinary progress. 55% of the Europeans are members of the Dutch Reformed Churches and the proportion of the churchgoing Christians among the Afrikaners is considerably higher than among the non-Afrikaners. The Dutch Reformed Churches are closely associated with the work of the four Afrikaans-language Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom. It is indicative of the close relation between state, church and people that the Prime Minister of the Union and the Administrator of the Transvaal are both retired ministers of the principal Dutch Reformed Church and that most speeches made by Nationalists in the House of Assembly are delivered in Afrikaans.

5. In the literary, dramatic, musical and cultural fields, Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings actively promotes the cause of Afrikaans language and thought.

(1) P.J.
(2) W. Peacock

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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6. Originally a farming community, the Afrikaans-speaking people have now successfully established themselves in trade, industry and commerce, and have organised themselves to make even further headway. Addressing the National Congress of the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce (Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut) at Port Elizabeth on 19th September, 1953, the Secretary of the Reddingsdaadbond (an organisation which assists Afrikaner commercial enterprises) said that, though the Afrikaner was still in the infancy of his economic independence and controlled only 11.5% of the economic life of South Africa, the Reddingsdaadbond was planning to take action, in close co-operation with the Handelsinstituut, to make the Afrikaner conscious of his economic role and in particular to ensure that the purchasing power of the Afrikaner, which amounted to about £500,000,000 a year, was used in such a way that it would promote the Afrikaners' economic development. Pursuing a policy which has had some success in other centres, the Johannesburg Skakelkomitee recently circularised business executives in that city demanding the co-operation of firms in setting out in Afrikaans, as well as in English, their accounts, receipts, labels, catalogues, notices, signboards and window advertisements. (The fairly general use of English in commerce frequently conceals from visitors to South Africa the facts that, in an average business concern, three out of every five of its European customers, and probably four out of every five of its European employees, habitually speak Afrikaans in their homes.)

7. In an address to the Economic Society of the University of Stellenbosch on 6th October, 1953, Dr. W. A. Hofmeyr, Chairman of the Nasionale Pers, said that the period of the Poor White belonged to the past and that the Afrikaner could stand his ground in the economic field, where he had won the confidence of the people in commerce and economics.

8. The Afrikaans-language press has made considerable progress in recent years. Its dailies are well edited and well produced and, while they carry fewer advertisements than the English-language newspapers, their circulation is rapidly increasing and they derive considerable financial support from their associated enterprises, the widely-read Afrikaans-language weeklies and monthlies, which carry considerable advertisements.

9. One of the political consequences of this intensification of the activities of the Afrikaans-speaking community was disclosed in a statement made on 3rd October, 1953, by Mr. P. W. Botha, M.P., the Provincial Secretary of the National Party in the Cape Province. According to Mr. Botha, while the membership of the National Party in the Cape was 72,000 in 1948, 80,000 in 1949 and 102,000 in 1952, its membership had grown since the General Elections of April, 1953, to 109,000. As the total European population of the Cape Province is under a million, the figure for the Party membership given by Mr. Botha represents a high degree of political mobilisation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

(o/i) W. R. Hodgson

(W. R. Hodgson)
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

The Minister for External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The London Times File No.: 201/2/2/1

Published at: Date: 29/5/53.

DR. MALAN'S VISIT

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN, MAY 28

Speculation has been aroused here by a sentence in a leading article in *Die Burger*, the Nationalist newspaper, which might suggest that Dr. Malan may put some constitutional point to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference next week. The purpose of the article is to rebuke organizers of Republican rallies at Paarl Cape and Koppies in Free State on Coronation day. South Africa.

The censure is mildly worded as from one Republican to another on the grounds that first it is bad form, secondly it is wrong to form groups within the Nationalist Party or pressure groups without it; and thirdly that these demonstrations will be not only against the monarchy but also against Dr. Malan for attending the Coronation. It is necessary for all Nationalist-minded people to support Dr. Malan. "He will next week represent South Africa at an important conference of Prime Ministers, and indeed, actually in furtherance of the things that are dear to the heart of the organizer of the Paarl demonstration."

It is this last parenthetic afterthought which has aroused the liveliest curiosity. It may be merely another way of saying that Republicanism will always be safe in Dr. Malan's hands, but the more natural interpretation is that the words hint at some definite proposal which will be acceptable to Republicans in South Africa.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

File 201/2/2/1 38

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(c.c. 3/2/1/1)

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 3/53.

PRETORIA.

1st April, 1953.

SOUTH AFRICA : THE TENTH UNION PARLIAMENT, 1948-1953.

Sir,

At the General Elections to take place on the 15th April, 1953, the two main parties, the United Party and the Nationalist Party, are the direct descendants of the major political combinations which contended for power in the first ten years of the Union's history.

2. In its policy and history the United Party, led by Mr. J.G.N. Strauss, is heir to the old South African Party of Botha and Smuts; the Nationalist Party, led by Dr. D.F. Malan, is the successor to the Nationalist Party founded by Hertzog in 1913 and led by him until June, 1934.

3. In response to the impact of the economic depression of the early 1930's and the political activity of Tielman Roos, who entered the lists advocating departure from the gold standard, Hertzog, the leader of the Nationalist Party, and Smuts, the leader of the South African Party, formed a Coalition Government on the 28th December, 1933. Some six months later their two parties fused to form the United Party. For nearly six years Hertzog remained Prime Minister of the Fusion Government.

4. As leader of the Cape Nationalists, Dr. D.F. Malan viewed with disfavour the formation of the Coalition Government in 1933 and subsequently determined to oppose resolutely the termination of the separate existence of the Nationalist Party. With his followers, Dr. Malan seceded from Hertzog and founded the Purified National Party (Die Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party). With a strength of 19, this new Nationalist Party formed the official opposition to the United Party Government in the Parliamentary Session of 1935. After the General Elections of May, 1938, twenty-seven Nationalists, led by Dr. Malan, opposed, in a Parliament of 153, the 111 United Party members led by Hertzog and Smuts. Malan stood for "samewerking (co-operation)" but not for "samesmelting (amalgamation

5. On the outbreak of war in 1939, when Hertzog stood for neutrality and Smuts for participation, the United Party was split from top to bottom. Led by General Hertzog, 38 former United Party members, perhaps better described as Hertzog Nationalists, joined forces with Dr. Malan's followers, whose numbers had by now increased to 29, and formed a neutralist, predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, Nationalist bloc of 67 in the House. Smuts was, however, after a bitter and historic debate, able to command some 80 votes in the Parliament, assume the Prime Ministership and form a United Party War Cabinet.

6. On the 23rd November, 1939, the followers of Hertzog and Malan met in conference in Pretoria in an endeavour to form a new Nationalist Party. On the 27th January, 1940, Hertzog and Malan announced that their respective followers intended to act thenceforth in Parliament as a single Party, to be called Die Herenigde Nasionale of Volksparty (the Reunited National or People's Party). Hard-pressed by the intransigent followers of Dr. Malan, Hertzog found his position as leader of the Reunited

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Nationalist Party extremely uncomfortable and on the 12th December, 1940, he and Havenga, his able lieutenant, resigned their Parliamentary seats. Malan thereupon assumed the leadership of the H.N.P..

7. In January, 1941, however, Hertzog's followers announced the formation of a new Afrikaner (Nationalist) Party. Like the H.N.P., the Afrikaner Party was predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. The death of Hertzog in 1942 paved the way for a gradual rapprochement between the two Afrikaans-speaking parties, but the breach between them was not healed until 1948, when the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties decided to co-operate electorally in a common struggle against the United Party Government led by Smuts.

8. At the General Elections for the Ninth Union Parliament held in May, 1948, the United Party contested 139 seats; its ally, the Labour Party, 8; the Nationalist (H.N.P.) Party 94, and the Afrikaner Party 10. At those elections 79 per cent. of an electorate of 1,351,920 voters went to the polls; contests took place in 138 constituencies and candidates were returned unopposed for 12 seats. In the contested constituencies the votes polled by the several parties were:-

United Party	515,273
Labour Party	32,164
Independent Labour	1,794
S.A. Party (a splinter U.P. group)	11,894
Cadmanites (a splinter U.P. group)	15,460
Independents	43,625
Communist Party	1,283
Nationalist (H.N.P.) Party	401,393
Afrikaner (Nationalist) Party	41,885
	1,067,971

9. Notwithstanding the majority of votes secured by the United Party and its allies, the electoral loading of the constituencies, in which country areas receive somewhat greater representation at the expense of the more densely populated urban areas, was such as to give the Nationalists, led by Dr. Malan, and the Afrikaner Party supporters, led by Mr. Havenga, a majority of the seats in the House. Apart from the Native constituencies, which elect three European members to the House of Assembly, the results of the 1948 General Election for the other 150 constituencies were:-

Nationalist (H.N.P.) Party	70	
Afrikaner Party	9	79
United Party	65	
Labour Party	6	71

10. The new Government formed by Dr. Malan and Mr. Havenga thus had, excluding the Speaker, a majority of seven at the beginning of the Tenth Parliament.

11. The result of the elections, at which Smuts was himself defeated, was a devastating blow for the United Party. Most political observers agree that the supporters of the United Party took too much for granted and allowed the elections to go by default.

12. A careful and objective analysis, taking into account the probable distribution of votes had there been contests in the twelve uncontested seats, set the supporters of Dr. Malan and Mr. Havenga at 530,837, and those of the United Party and its allies at 623,736. It is reasonable to assume that

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

...majority of the 47,000-odd Coloured electors in the Cape Province voted for the United Party at the Elections, and fairly certain that the two Nationalist Parties failed to command, in 1948, the support of a majority of the European electors of South Africa.

13. While the Nationalist victory was clearly evident on the benches of the House of Assembly, it was less obviously so in the constituencies, the final results from which revealed that the Nationalists had won five seats with majorities of less than 100 and thirteen seats with majorities of less than 500. Nevertheless, the electoral progress of the Nationalists was remarkable enough, having regard to the fact that for the fifteen years preceding 1948 the ranks of the Afrikaans-speaking voters had been repeatedly broken by dissension on a great scale. Three factors had, by consensus of opinion, contributed to the success of the Nationalists: the first, which is likely, from now on, to be a constant feature in South African life, was the Afrikaans linguistic and cultural renaissance; the second, a feature of doubtful continuity, the drift to the Nationalist Party of not a few English-speaking South Africans; and the third, the disillusionment of probably a large section of the floating vote with the post-war regime of the United Party.

14. The new Government - the first in the Union's history whose members were completely bilingual - at once set out to consolidate its position. Negotiations were set in train for the amalgamation of the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties. This was completed by the end of 1951 and has since stood the strain of the Nationalist pre-selection ballots for the forthcoming General Election.

15. In 1949 the Government enacted the Citizenship Act, one of the effects of which was to require citizens of a Commonwealth country or the Republic of Ireland to reside within the Union for five years (instead of the two years previously allowed) in order to qualify for a certificate of Registration. This act, coupled with the high fees charged for taking out citizenship papers, has had the effect of discouraging migrants from becoming South African citizens and has almost certainly denied the United Party an opportunity of increasing its electoral strength from the ranks of United Kingdom immigrants.

16. In 1950 the Government also decided to accord the Europeans of South-West Africa, disproportionately, some six seats in the House of Assembly, or one seat for every 4,000 votes as against the then Union average of one seat for every 9,000 votes. In the event, at the South-West Africa elections held on 30th August, 1950, the Nationalists won these six additional seats. These seats, together with the seat won by them at the Vereeniging by-election of 1949, gave the Nationalists a safe Parliamentary majority of thirteen for the remaining three sessions of the Tenth Parliament.

17. During the Parliament's life of five years, ten members resigned and twelve members, including such outstanding Parliamentarians as J.H. Hofmeyr, T.W.B. Osborne and A.J. Stals, died. While consequential by-elections did not alter the strength of the Parties in the House of Assembly, the by-election at Wakkerstroom held on 25th June, 1952, was not without significance, for the result showed that, after being in power for four years, the Nationalists were able to increase their percentage of the votes case in that constituency from 58.9% to 63.8%.

18. Partly in an effort to weaken the United Party in the Cape electorates, the Government also enacted in 1951 the Separate

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

presentation of Voters Bill, designed to remove Coloured voters in the Cape Province from the electoral roll on which they had until then been jointly registered with Europeans. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court declared this Act invalid in 1952 and, as a result, in 1953, as in 1948, the Coloured voters (who number approximately 47,000) are likely to hold the balance of power between the two major European Parties in several of the constituencies of the Cape Province.

19. It is now generally admitted that in 1948 the Nationalists won the election on their Native policy, the policy of Apartheid or Segregation. Then, as now, the Europeans of South Africa were confronted, in the field of Native Affairs, with three possible policies, called by the late Professor R.F. Alfred Hoernle, "Total Assimilation", "Parallelism" and "Total Segregation". While practically all European politicians in South Africa reject Total Assimilation and Total Segregation, the principal difference between the two major Parties in this country is that the Liberals of the United Party incline towards assimilation in the remote future and the Extremists, including some Ministers, of the Nationalist Party towards segregation in the remote future.

20. The doctrine of Apartheid stems from the work of the Afrikaans-speaking South African Bureau of Racial Affairs at the University of Stellenbosch, and, in its pure form, has been defined as the "separating of the heterogeneous groups..... into separate socio-economic units, inhabiting separate parts of the country, each enjoying in its own area full citizen rights, the greatest of which is the opportunity of developing such capabilities as its individual members may possess to their optimum capacity". The real truth is that the term apartheid is so loose in meaning that it can be defined to suit one's own political philosophy.

21. In 1948 the Nationalist Party enunciated its own doctrine of apartheid, and from this has sprung much of the confusion of thought, both here in South Africa and abroad, on the question of apartheid. The Nationalist Party rejected -

> "The policy of equality which advocates equal rights, within the same political structure, for all civilized and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the franchise to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights;"

and propounded a policy affirming -

> "The maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure white race; the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas; and the stimulation of national pride, self-respect and mutual respect among the various races of the country".

22. During the Tenth Parliament, the Nationalist Government vigorously proceeded to implement its own conceptions of Apartheid. In 1949 it enacted the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, forbidding the solemnisation of marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans, and in 1950 extended the scope of the

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

...orality Act of 1927 to declare illicit any carnal intercourse between Europeans and non-Europeans. Both of these measures had chiefly the effect of erecting a new barrier between the Coloureds and the Europeans. In 1950 the Parliament passed the Group Areas Act, giving the Governor-General power to declare any area in the Union as an area to be occupied exclusively by one or other of the three major racial groups (White, Native and Coloured) and forbidding transactions in property within any area so specified to be effected other than by persons of the race allocated to it. In that year also the Parliament passed the National or Population Registration Act, which authorised the compilation, on the basis of the 1951 Census, of a register of the peoples of the Union so as to include, on the record of the individual citizen, a notation of his racial or ethnic character . This measure the present Prime Minister has described as the basis of the whole policy of Apartheid.

23. The Bantu authorities Act of 1951 aimed at the strengthening of the Native tribal structure wi hin the Native reserves, and the Native Building Workers Act of 1951 reserved certain fields of employment for Native artisans. The Bantu Urban Authorities Act of 1952 further extended the policy of Apartheid.

24. By other legislative measures and by extensive administrative action, the Government also extended the policy of Apartheid. The provision of separate entrances and facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans was strictly enforced, for example, in the Post Offices and on the Railway Stations. However, the Appellate Division recently decided that the powers given to the Railway Administration by the Railways Act of 1916, as amended by the present Government in 1949, could, and should, be exercised without the inevitable result that members of different races were treated on a footing of partiality and inequality to a substantial degree. The Government has announced its intention, if re-elected, of overcoming the judgment by special legislation and even the United Party press agree that all that justice requires is the provision of separate and adequate, rather than equal, facilities for non-Europeans. In carrying out its Apartheid policy the Government has taken advantage of the shortage of European labour in South Africa to create greatly enlarged opportunities of remunerative employment for non-Europeans in the provision of services for non-Europeans. A special levy, in aid of Native transport services and Native housing in Native locations, has also been imposed upon employers of Native labour who make no provision for transporting or housing their Native employees.

25. It was, however, the application of political Apartheid, as exemplified in the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which, coupled with the provisionsof the Citizenship Act of 1949, that caused the greatest opposition of a substantial majority of English-speaking South Africans and United Party supporters and gave rise to the so-called constitutional crisis.

26. The action of the Government in enacting the Separate Representation of Voters Act otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the Entrenched Clauses of the South Africa Act had the effect in 1951 of calling into being the War Veterans' Torch Commando as a mass anti-Nationalist movement, and in 1952 of facilitating the establishment of the United Democratic Front - a well-knit coalition of the Torch Commando, the United Party and the Labour Party. These two developments re-vivified the once moribund United Party and have given it great heart for the forthcoming General Election.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

33

In order to overcome the judgment of the Appellate Division in the matter of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Government set up a High Court of Parliament which attempted to re-invalidate the Voters' Act. Late in 1952 the Appellate Division also declared invalid the High Court of Parliament Act, whereupon the Government announced its intention of asking the electorate to ensure that the will of the people prevailed.

28. The application of the principle of political Apartheid to the Coloured voters of the Cape Province thus raised the question of the validity of the Entrenched Clauses of the South Africa Act and the right of the Courts to declare invalid certain acts of the Union Parliament, and involved the whole country in a major constitutional struggle.

29. In June, 1952, the National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress initiated, by way of passive resistance and civil disobedience, another major protest against the Government's policy. In the course of the ensuing six months some seven or eight thousand resisters were arrested, but, after the outbreak of savage riots at Johannesburg, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, and after the promulgation of restrictive regulations in November, 1952, the passive resistance campaign appeared to be gradually petering out. Early in 1953 the Government enacted the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act and so acquired extraordinary powers to deal with future emergencies.

30. The character of this legislation is in keeping with that of the Suppression of Communism Act, which also gave the Government extraordinary powers and which led it to unseat Mr. Sam Kahn, a Communist Member of Parliament. However, the Courts have so far held that the Suppression of Communism Act cannot be invoked by the Government to place on a Communist candidate for Parliamentary office the duty of withdrawing his nomination and so it is that Mr. Kahn's Communist successor is still a Member of the Union Parliament.

31. Throughout the past five years the Nationalist Government has, on the whole, retained the initiative politically in South Africa, and, as the General Elections of 1953 draw near, it is obvious that, with the exception of the Separate Representation of Voters Act and the High Court of Parliament Act, the United Party has found it politically expedient to accept in principle all the other major measures enacted by the present Government.

32. On the other hand, the Government finds itself in a position in which it stands charged with violating the Constitution of the Union and in which it has experienced a series of major rebuffs from the highest Courts in the land. Not only the Constitution and the Government's abortive legislation but also the role of the Courts have become major political issues. It is indeed one of the more discreditable features of this election that many Nationalist candidates, including some prominent Ministers, have gone out of their way to bring discredit on the Judges of the Appellate Division; one, well known to you in Australia, going so far as to refer to them as "the six weary old men of Bloemfontein".

33. The reaction of the United Nations to the policy of Apartheid in South Africa is hardly an issue of electoral importance for all parties have pledged themselves to resist any interference in the Union's domestic affairs by the United Nations.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 3/53. 1/4/1953.

34. The Tenth Union Parliament was dissolved on the 4th March, 1953, and the General Elections for the Eleventh Union Parliament will be held on the 15th April. These General Elections will take place on a new redistribution of seats among the four provinces and on a new delimitation of constituencies, both of which were recommended by the Tenth Delimitation Commission. Under the new delimitation, the Transvaal is to have 68 seats, 44 of them constituting constituencies on the highly industrialised Rand; the Cape Province 54; Natal 15, and the Orange Free State 13. The number of registered European voters for the whole of the Union is 1,596,447 and for South-West Africa 25,783. There are 47,232 registered male Coloured voters in the Cape Province.

35. Many political observers in various countries during recent years have learnt the lesson of the unwisdom of attempting to predict the results of elections, and it is not proposed to attempt it in this despatch. Suffice it to say that it is widely believed that the Nationalist Party will retain their six seats in South-West Africa; that there will be little change in the Cape Province and in Natal; that the United Party will lose its one remaining seat in the Orange Free State (Bloemfontein City, hitherto held by Dr. Colin Steyn, son of the late President Steyn), and that the final result will depend on about fifteen marginal seats in the Transvaal, where there is always a substantial floating and movable vote, and where the outcome of the recent "delimitation" is unpredictable.

36. The leaders of the major parties have on the whole, and naturally, expressed supreme confidence in the outcome of the election for their respective parties. In the Nationalist Camp there has been no sign of any recession and the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Naude, lately went so far as to say that he would not be surprised if the Nationalists were returned with a two-thirds majority on April 15th. Such a majority, which is unlikely, could enable the Government to amend the entrenched clauses. Some months ago certain informed circles were prepared to concede the Nationalist Party a majority of 30, but, as the Election draws near, there is increasing evidence that the Government will regard a simple majority as a complete expression of the electors' confidence and as an unfettered mandate to go ahead with their constitutional policies.

37. The Leader of the United Party, Mr. J.G.N. Strauss, has expressed the view that changes may take place in some 40 seats and that, if supporters of the United front do their duty, a United Party victory is assured.

38. The truth of the matter is that there are too many unpredictable elements to justify any forecast of the result of the elections. It is, for example, not known to what extent the younger electors will support the United Party. (The 1936 census figures revealed that for every 100 English-speakers under the age of seven there were 212 Afrikaans-speakers). Nor is it definitely known to what extent the Nationalist Party has retained the allegiance of older Afrikaans-speaking voters in a community where at least 60 per cent. of the electorate is Afrikaans-speaking. Neither can anyone assess the extent to which the Torch Commando and the United Party will succeed in bringing to the poll on this occasion United Party supporters who failed to vote in 1948. The new delimitation of constituencies and the drift of Afrikaans-speaking workers from the countryside to the towns are additional complicating factors.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

MINISTERIAL DESPATCH NO. 3/53. 1/4/1953.

39. It is clear that the United Party is not content to reply, even chiefly, on the constitutional issue. In the platteland, it is asking electors to vote for its White Policy; in the peri-urban areas, it is endeavouring to marshal the small-holders; and in the cities, it is stressing its Workers' Charter, the High Cost of Living and the Rights of Women.

40. All in all, it is generally agreed that the forthcoming elections are the most momentous in the history of the Union and their outcome will have a profound effect on capital investment and on the social and political structure of the community. World interest is most marked, as is evidenced by the fact that some thirty international journalists, many of world repute, such as Ward Price, have already arrived in the Union to follow and report the course of the campaign and its results.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W R Hodgson

(W.R. Hodgson)
HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Minister for External Affairs,

CANBERRA, A.C.T., AUSTRALIA.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Rec'd 28 JUL 1952
File No.

F 201/2/2/1

50

TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM CAPETOWN"

REFERENCE No. 3/4/3/7/ 2966

Memo. No. 268

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
DUMBARTON HOUSE
COR. ADDERLEY & CHURCH STS.
CAPETOWN

(14)

17th July, 1952.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA, A.C.T., AUSTRALIA.

THE REPUBLICAN QUESTION.

Opening the Nasionale Jeugbond (National Youth Organization) Congress in Beaconsfield on the evening of 12th July, 1952, Mr. P.W. Botha, M.P. for George, told the 300 delegates present that two aims of the National Party were to establish a republic in South Africa and to have only one flag - the South African flag.

2. There can be little doubt that republican sentiment is still markedly strong among the rank and file of National Party supporters.

3. However, Mr. J.J. Boshof, Vice Chairman of the National Party in Natal, said at a Toc H lunch forum held on the 9th of July that English-speaking people need not be deterred from joining the National Party by the fear that a republic would be imposed on the country. He said he could give an absolute assurance that a republic would never be created without the agreement of the English-speaking section of the people. He added that it was incorrect to regard the National Party as isolationist. Nationalists wished to be members of the Commonwealth and their leaders had gone so far as to say that they would remain in the Commonwealth if a republic was created.

K.T. Kelly

(K.T. KELLY)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

C This should be filed on 201/2/2/1 [illegible] 29/7

(copy on 201/1/2)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

29

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
CANBERRA.

Name of Paper: The Times File No: 201/2/2/1

Published at: London

Date: 7/5/51

NATIONALIST WINS SOUTH AFRICAN BY-ELECTION

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPETOWN, MAY 6

The by-election at Ceres, Cape Province, caused by the death of Dr. A. J. Stals, former Minister of Health, has been won by Dr. Karl Bremer, the present Minister, with a majority of 2,418. This is an increase of 472 over the previous Nationalist majority. There was a 91 per cent. poll in the election, in which Dr. Bremer, who was formerly in the Senate, opposed Mr. I. A. Wolfaardt, of the United Party. The contest was regarded as a test of the country's reaction to the Separate Representation of Voters Bill and the United Party's undertaking to entrench "fundamental human rights" in the constitution if returned to power.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

28

Capetown ~~MIN.~~ DEP. Despatch No. 17 / 50

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Rec'd 26 SEP 1950

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DUPLICATE

PRETORIA.
12th September, 1950.

DEPARTMENTAL DESPATCH NO. 17/50.

SUBJECT: Address by Prime Minister.

When addressing the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party in Pretoria last night, the Prime Minister, Dr. D.F. Malan, analysed the Party's recent victory in the South-West African elections. He referred also to adverse criticism of the Government in the British press, the international situation and the Union's dispute with the United Nations regarding South-West Africa.

2. In opening his address, the Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that when speaking of the Nationalist Party he included the Afrikaner Party. They too were Nationalists and he believed it would not be long before the Afrikaner and Nationalist parties would be one. Things were better for the Nationalist Party today than they had ever been. The Opposition were openly saying in their newspapers that their chances of coming into power again were small.

3. Dr. Malan said that since the results of the South-West Africa elections the United Party was seeking reasons for its defeat afresh. The reason for the United Party's deterioration was that the weapons which they thought they had had fallen from their hands. In the first place the United Party had relied on the fact that the Government's majority was small. This had fallen

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

away. The United Party had also tried to exploit economic conditions. Today the Union was financially and economically sound. She could borrow as much money abroad as she required. Dr. Malan asserted that this was only the beginning. The establishment of an oil industry would be a greater step forward than the establishment of the iron and steel industry had been.

4. Continuing, the Prime Minister stated that if the United Party hoped to become the alternative government, they would, in the first instance, have to formulate a policy. It was not sufficient for an Opposition to be negative. They should also have a positive side to their policy, which they could place before the electorate and on which they could be judged. In his view the real reason why the United Party was on the downward trend was because they were un-South African and un-patriotic. When the Minister of Finance first went abroad the United Party said he was going hat in hand to beg for money. Every report since then of an improvement in South Africa's economic state had been bad news to the United Party. Every unfavourable report about South Africa in overseas newspapers was published with great prominence by the United party press, without a word of defence for South Africa.

5. Referring to adverse criticism in the British press, Dr. Malan said he regretted that there were members of the British Parliament, and even British Cabinet Ministers, who lent themselves to this sort of thing. "I want to say to them: South Africa is no longer a British colony. South Africa is a sovereign, independent country. We do not poke our nose into the affairs of Britain, and we expect of Britain

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

that she should not do so with us.

"We regard Britain as our friend. We are anxious to retain her friendship. We want to co-operate with Britain, and with the other members of the Commonwealth. But it must not be one-sided. If they want to bring about an estrangement between South Africa and Britain, then they must continue on the course they have set. I say this in no sense of hostility, but in all friendliness, in the hope that it will be taken to heart."

6. There was no reason for panic about the international situation, said Dr. Malan, but at the same time there was no reason for complacency. The attitude of the Government was that "we must be prepared for all eventualities." The present situation has arisen because the war had brought the forces of Communism and anti-Communism closer - today the soldiers of Communism and of anti-Communism stared at one another across the border.

When the last war was approaching its end, he, as leader of the Opposition, had introduced a motion in Parliament pleading that the peace should not be a peace which meant the complete destruction of Germany. The Nationalist Party today was not ashamed of the stand it had taken. He had felt that the enemy of today might well be a friend of tomorrow. Germany had been the wall against Communism. After the war Germany had been plundered of her vital resources from both sides. Fortunately a new attitude was being adopted towards Germany by the Western powers.

There was reason to believe that the war in Korea could be localised, but there was no knowing where Communist aggression would break out next. The first

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

danger point was Germany and the second the Mediterranean. If Communist aggression broke out in either of these areas it would mean world war. The biggest danger was not Russia's armies, but the infiltration of Communism. If any country had everything to lose as the result of Communist infiltration it was South Africa.

7. Referring to the Union's dispute with the United Nations regarding South-West Africa, the Prime Minister said: "The trouble existed during the term of office of the previous Government. My reply to the United Nations demands is: "I refuse. South West-Africa herself has given her reply."

Dr. Malan said the United Nations was first and foremost concerned with the preservation of world peace. There was no more peaceful place in the world than South-West Africa. This was not only regarding the European population, but also the non-European section.

The United Nations demanded that the franchise should be extended to the non-Europeans and that they should have equal rights. But no such voice had been heard from the non-Europeans of South-West Africa.

"I will not depart from the standpoint I have taken except under a mandate from the Union Parliament, in which South-West Africa is now represented, or under a mandate from the Legislative Assembly of South-West Africa."

(Sgd.) M. H. Marshall

(M.H. Marshall)
OFFICIAL SECRETARY.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

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Note for file

Vide article on p. 1173 of Economist of 25th June, entitled "Oppression in Africa", outlining the Nationalist Party's record.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
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PRETORIA.

12th August 1949

DEPARTMENTAL DESPATCH NO. 23/49: FROM: The Official Secretary, Australian High Commissioner's Office, South Africa.

SUBJECT: Possible Merger of Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties.

Reliable reports indicate that the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga leaders respectively of the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties, are likely to discuss within the next few weeks, the basis on which the two parties can amalgamate.

If amalgamation takes place, I understand from well-informed Nationalists, the Nationalist Party caucus will accept Mr. Havenga as successor-designate to Dr. Malan for the leadership of the Nationalist Party. Mr. J. G. Strydom, Nationalist leader in the Transvaal, will probably acquiesce in the decision as he is a comparatively young man and knows he can afford to bide his time.

Dr. Malan is expected to demand as a prerequisite for amalgamation the disbandment of the Ossewa Brandwag. It is believed that the O.B. leader, "Commandant-Generaal" Hans van Rensburg, will be willing to disband his wilting organisatic if he is given an opportunity of doing so without losing face.

Mr. Havenga on his part wants an assurance from Dr. Malan that the legislation which the Prime Minister will introduce at the beginning of the next Parliamentary session to remove Coloured voters from the common roll shall provide

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

for their respresentation in the House of Assembly by Europeans on a proportional basis commensurate with the number of registered Coloured voters in the Cape Province.

At present the Government is anxious not to allow the Coloured people more than three European representatives in the House. There are about 48,000 registered Coloured voters - a number which will be reduced as the Government tightens registration qualifications - and Mr. Havenga reckons that they should start off with at least four representatives in the House on the basis of 12,000 voters to a Cape constituency.

Nationalist circles believe that Dr. Malan would be prepared to make this concession, particularly as the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll will greatly enhance the chances of the Nationalist Party in from eight to ten Cape Western Province seats.

If the informal discussions between the two leaders are successful, Mr. Havenga is expected to propose amalgamation at his party congress on November 8. Should fusion take place, the Nationalists may change the present name of the party - Herenigde Nasionale Party - to Nasionale Party, as it was known under the leadership of General Hertzog.

It is understood that Dr. Malan is considering amending the South Africa Act next session to enable him to increase his present Cabinet of 12 to 16 members. As a bait to the English-speaking section, he hopes to include one, or possibly two, English-speaking Ministers. So far he has been successful in enticing over only one potential aspirant - Senator Colonel the Reverend C. F. Miles Cadman. Senator

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

Cadman, referred to in Nationalist circles as "the Padre", is Dr. Malan's chief liaison officer in the search for English-speaking adherents to the Nationalist Party.

The raising of the ban which prevents Jews from joining the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, will, I understand, be discussed at the party's congress in Johannesburg on 6th September.

(Sgd.) E. H. Marshall

(E. H. Marshall)
Official Secretary.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

(10) 19

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: Pretoria News

Published at: Pretoria

Date: 2-12-48

NATIONALISTS, TAKING STOCK, SEE THREE COURSES OPEN

'TOE THE LINE, OR GO TO THE COUNTRY'

NATIONALISTS discussing Mr Havenga's speech last night say they feel rotten ("vrot") about it and agree that there is a choice of three courses open to them.

1 Either they must hold a General Election in the hope of securing a majority in Parliament without the assistance of the Afrikaner Party or

2. They must drop the question of eliminating the Native Representatives from the Assembly, to which course they are deeply committed; or

3. They must drop this question until such time as they have a purely Nationalist majority in Parliament, either through successful by-elections or a general election.

DR. MALAN

The Prime Minister and leader of the Nationalist Party, Dr Malan, flew to Cape Town by special plane on Monday to be with his son, who was to have an operation for appendicitis. He is flying back to Pretoria to-day and is not available for consultation on the Government's attitude.

The second Minister in order of precedence in the Cabinet is Mr. Havenga himself who has stated his views.

The third Minister, Dr Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs and leader of the Nationalist Party in Natal, when approached this morning, said he would prefer not to make any comment as the Prime Minister would probably prefer to do so himself when he returned to Pretoria.

The fourth Minister, Mr. Strydom, Minister of Lands and leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, said he would be busy all day and would not be able to say anything to the Press.

SAW STRYDOM

The Secretary of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, Mr. Jan de Klerk, who called on Mr. Strydom early this morning for consultation about the position which has now arisen, told me that he would prefer not to make any comment either.

It might be necessary to call the head committee of the Nationalist Party together in order to decide what attitude the Party should adopt, he said. In the meantime, any expression of opinion by individuals in the Party, however highly placed, must be regarded as no more than their personal opinions.

The members of the Nationalist Party who are in the most difficult position of all are those who have publicly declared their intention of repealing the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act by a simple majority in Parliament.

With Mr. Havenga's support, that simple majority was available. But Mr. Havenga has now stated that he will not support that particular issue. Without the Afrikaner Party the Nationalists, so far from having a simple majority, would be in a minority of four.

"FORCED"

An attempt on the part of the Nationalists has been made to wean A.P. from its Hertzogism by saying that native representation in Parliament never was part of General Hertzog's personal policy, anyway, and that the General was forced into it by pressure from the Smuts-Hofmeyr side of the Fusion Government.

But General Hertzog, through standing by his principles, eventually lost the leadership of the Party, and retired into political oblivion before his death in 1943.

Mr. Havenga, on his return to politics and his election in 1948, told his friends that his object in entering the political arena once again was to try and bridge the gap and maintain the policy which he and General Hertzog had built up and fought for—the broader nationalism of Gen. Hertzog, as distinct from the narrower nationalism of the Purified Party.

From conversations with Nationalists, I have formed the impression that a proportion of the Party is delighted at Mr. Havenga's stand, and privately regard the Afrikaner Party as a possible refuge for themselves from their own extremists. They also think that Mr. Havenga can, as he told the Transvaal Congress of the H.N.P. two weeks ago, win more friends by retaining his Party's individuality than by merging with the Nationalists, as the extremists on the Nationalist side would have him do.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

(9) 18

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: Rand Daily Mail

Published at: Johannesburg

Date: 19-11-48

YOUNGER MINISTERS SCORED OVER OLDER AT NAT. CONGRESS

Malan, Jansen, Stals Had to Take Back Seats

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

PROBABLY the most important feature of the Transvaal congress of the Nationalist Party which was held in Pretoria this week was the personal triumph of the younger and more vigorous leaders of the party. Their handling of the large number of delegates and the even larger number of resolutions appearing on the agenda was polished.

Throughout the proceedings the older leaders—Dr. Malan, Dr. Jansen and Dr. Stals—had to take humble back seats.

While the opening address of Mr. J. G. Strydom, leader of the party in the Transvaal, was full of fire, Dr. Malan's speech was moderate and lacked conviction. The only victory he scored over the younger speakers was his firm attitude towards UNO.

Dr. A. J. Stals, Minister of Health and Education, was roughly-handled by delegates when he tried to defend his Native education policy, especially the increased cost of it.

Quietly he attempted to explain that the Cabinet as a whole, and not he alone, was responsible for approving an additional £5,000 for Native education. But the delegates would not listen to his well-reasoned argument and accused him of being as "liberal" as the United Party.

Dr. E. G. Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs, asked for time to put the Government's apartheid policy into practice.

He seemed a tired man as he stood there pleading with delegates to give him more time to "study this complex problem."

SHARP CONTRAST

In sharp contrast to the quiet counsel of [illegible] up its mind about everything.

The appointment or promised appointment of commissions satisfied the delegates.

SWITCHED THE SUBJECT

Mr. B. J. Schoeman, Minister of Labour, and Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who alternated as chairman, cleverly used their experience to keep up the spirits of delegates. As soon as discussions became heated on any serious subject, they quickly switched to subjects with popular appeal.

When delegates were insisting on knowing why there was so little apartheid on the railways and why European and non-European labourers were permitted to work in the same gangs the discussions were switched to pensions for oudstryders and their widows—and apartheid was forgotten.

When delegates asked the Government to deprive Indians of trading licences and were not satisfied with the reply, resolutions within the scope of the Department of Interior were dropped and Mr. Strydom was given a chance to explain how he was going to remove certain servitude clauses from the Land Settlement Act to give owners the right to sell their land.

In this way the spirits of delegates were kept up and enthusiasm was never allowed to flag.

Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, Minister of Defence, Mr. Schoeman, Mr. Strydom and Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, were a great success with the delegates. They knew what the delegates expected them to say and said it.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

Mr. Erasmus particularly stole a march on his colleagues when he made every delegate believe that tanks were [illegible] Swaziland and Basutoland.

SLAP IN FACE

Towards the end of the congress a request to invite Mr. N. C. Havenga to attend had grown so strong that he was sent for.

His short speech was carefully worded and was a slap in the face to those in the Nationalist Party who advocate extreme policies. Mr. Havenga urged moderation and caution.

But when the congress ended, nearly half of its resolutions untouched, it was the younger set who got the cheers from the delegates, who had been fed on warmed-up election promises.

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

17

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: The Star

Published at: Johannesburg

Date: 27-10-48

MR. HOFMEYR EXAMINES NATIONALIST POLICY

H.N.P. ANXIOUS TO REMAIN IN OFFICE WITH S.-W. AFRICAN REINFORCEMENTS

WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA was a clear indication that Dr. Malan was anxious to strengthen the Government's position in Parliament and to pay quite a heavy price for it, said Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.P., in an address last night at the annual meeting of the Parktown North men's branch of the United Party.

"It creates the impression that the present Government is not quite as anxious as it was to have a second election," said Mr. Hofmeyr. "They are hoping for a five-year period in office, with reinforcements from South-West Africa to help them."

U.P. NEEDS A SLOGAN

The United Party had received a shock at the elections, but he believed the party was healthier for it.

"Ours is essentially a moderate party. It is so much easier to get enthusiasm for an extreme party than for a sound, middle-of-the-road party. But the position is much better than it was six months ago."

The United Party needed to describe its policy in crisp and dynamic terms.

"It boils down to a slogan—something which is not easy to find at a moment's notice. We need something that will go across. We will continue to work towards it."

The Nationalists' general plan, said Mr. Hofmeyr, was to attack first the Indian—the most unpopular element in the country—then the Coloured man and then the Native.

"When they have got that far they will start on sections of the European population until they ultimately achieve what is their design—the domination of South Africa by a minority clique and the establishment in this country of a republic run by that minority clique."

FINANCIAL POLICY

In an attack on the financial policy of his successor, Mr. Havenga, Mr. Hofmeyr said that Mr. Havenga's budget took no account of the [illegible] Budget day, and quite a number of people were impressed. There was a good deal of lavish display at that time, but now the honeymoon is over."

Dealing with the non-European problem Mr. Hofmeyr referred to a statement made recently by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, that European supremacy should be maintained at all costs.

"They claim for themselves the right to judge what those costs may be. They are prepared to trick the law, to put aside the Constitution and to make South Africa a police State."

There was no room for obscurity about what the United Party stood for—for national unity, democracy, for acceptance of the principles of the United Nations and for racial harmony.

"I think people are coming to realise more and more the dangerous situation with which we are faced. It calls for unceasing toil and vigilance."

Dr. P. E. Hall was elected chairman of the Parktown men's branch for the ensuing year, Mr. A. G. Douglas was elected vice-chairman and Mr. L. Cooper secretary.

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File on Nationalist Party

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE CAPE ARGUS

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: AUGUST 28, 1948.

POLITICAL COMMENTARY

Dr. Malan Should Come Out Into the Open

By H. G. LAWRENCE, M.P.

ONE of Dr. Malan's perpetual political dilemmas is to extricate himself, now that he is in power, from the inevitable consequences of past conduct and utterances of the purified Nationalist Party. That is why he gets angry when searching questions are put to him in Parliament about future Government policy, and why he assumes an air of shocked indignation when asked to give assurances about democracy. But the Prime Minister has only himself and his party to blame if doubts are entertained about the maintenance of the democratic way of life in South Africa. After all, not even Dr. Malan's most devoted and fervent supporters would claim that he is a statesman who regarded consistency as one of the elements which should go to his total make-up.

IN rejecting Mr. Christie's motion in the House this week calling for assurances from the Government regarding fundamental freedoms, Dr. Malan indignantly declared that it gave the impression that democracy in South Africa was in danger from the present Government.

Dr. Malan

After stating that he looked upon the motion as a veiled accusation against his side of the House, he went on to announce that the Government stood by the Western conception of democracy.

In contrasting that conception with Russian democracy, he said that under the latter the State was everything, and the individual had no rights or freedoms other than what the State was willing to allow him. The individual was a cipher, and did not count.

Dr. Malan, of course, might have pointed out that the same is true in a Nazi or Fascist state, and that the realisation of this fundamental truth inspired the youth of this generation to fight to safeguard the right of the individual against the tyrannies of Nazidom.

He might also have added that many thousands of South Africans, both English- and Afrikaans-speaking, went into that fight under the brilliant and courageous leadership of General Poole, whose shabby treatment by the Minister of Defence has affronted public opinion throughout the country.

The Fighting Forces

BUT Dr. Malan dare not mention those facts, because he knows that neither he nor his party ever gave moral or any other support to the members of our fighting forces during the war years.

Perhaps he has forgotten the [illegible] respect of those who were fighting to maintain the has made it clear beyond all reasonable doubt that he can and will stand by his present protestations.

Misgivings

WHAT the majority of the electors in South Africa want to know and want to be assured is that Dr. Malan can in fact curb and hold in check those wild elements in his party whose past utterances and protestations have caused misgiving among those who prize individual freedom.

"Nothing must be allowed to infringe the individual's right to freedom," said Dr. Malan in his heated and angry reply to Mr. Christie this week. I wonder whether the Prime Minister, when making this unexceptionable declaration, still had ringing in his ears the recent words of one of his Broederbond backbenchers, Dr. Diederichs.

Only a few days ago the latter, in his maiden speech, enunciated the doctrine that "the enhancement of the individual is the enslavement of the State."

That doctrine, I imagine, does not fit into the conception of Western democracy as understood by those who fought to maintain it.

Sinister Forces

IT is, of course, possible that Dr. Malan's violent defence of Western democracy was a challenge to those sinister forces behind him, a challenge flowing from a realisation of the dangerous position in which he finds himself as Prime Minister of a Government elected by a minority of the voters but supported by a strong and ruthless band of Afrikaner extremists.

If this is so, then he should come out into the open and state, clearly and unequivocally, that he does not propose to be an instrument to further the machinations of Broederbond policy. But this would also involve a clean break with his past and a repudiation of Nationalist policies and objectives stated over the past 15 years.

Africa there is a strong feeling for republicanism but it is not a sentiment of the Nationalist Party as such."

Republican Campaign

THE next year, however, we find Dr. Malan telling an audience at Fauresmith that the principal aim of the Nationalist Party must be to eliminate the Union Jack from its place in the Flag Act, and to sever the connection with the British Commonwealth.

From then onwards the campaign for the republic proceeded apace until, in 1942, the "Transvaler" and the "Burger" published the plan. There is little doubt that, in the enunciation of this plan, the Broederbond took a leading part.

The plan was published in portions and ran to something like 8,000 words. The main provisions were:

Article 1: The total abolition of British kingship over British subjects within the republic.

Article 2: The national flag to be the Vierkleur of the old South African Republic.

Language: Afrikaans to be the first official language, English to be regarded as a second or supplementary language whenever such treatment was considered in the interest of the inhabitants.

Article 3: Citizen rights. Such recognition would only be accorded to subjects of whom it could be expected that they would act as builders-up of the nation.

The totalitarian nature of the proposed republic was indicated in a section of Article 3:

"The State makes a call upon the consecrated national service of every citizen, in any capacity whatsoever, and has the power to make sure that the individual citizens, as well as the organs of public opinion, such as the existence of parties, the radio, the Press, the cinema, shall not be allowed by their activities to undermine the public order or good morals of the republic, internally or externally."

I do not find much in these provisions to support Dr. Malan's present-day protestations [illegible] the freedom of the individual. To

201/2/4/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

when searching questions are put to him in Parliament about future Government policy, and why he assumes an air of shocked indignation when asked to give assurances about democracy. But the Prime Minister has only himself and his party to blame if doubts are entertained about the maintenance of the democratic way of life in South Africa. After all, not even Dr. Malan's most devoted and fervent supporters would claim that he is a statesman who regarded consistency as one of the elements which should go to his total make-up.

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The Fighting Forces

BUT Dr. Malan dare not mention those facts, because he knows that neither he nor his party ever gave moral or any other support to the members of our fighting forces during the war years.

Perhaps he has forgotten the charge he made against General Smuts in respect of those who were fighting to maintain the Western conception of democracy.

"The prices of farm produce are being restricted. . . ," he said in Parliament on February 4, 1941: "In other words, the farmers are being asked to pay the war costs in this country . . . You are distributing money on such a scale as has never been known before. When anyone goes to fight in war, it is always understood as a rule that he will be prepared to make a sacrifice. What is happening in our country on a large scale today is that people go to war because they not only have to sacrifice nothing so far as salary and wages are concerned but because with allowances for their families and otherwise they are able to make more money than before."

The contrast between Dr. Malan as the apostle of Western democracy and Dr. Malan in his years of opposition must surely baffle not only South Africans but also political observers abroad. And it is this striking contrast which, by itself, gives rise internally to a demand for assurances about the future.

The United Party certainly welcomes the statements on democracy which Dr. Malan now makes in his capacity as Prime Minister.

But knowing that his past political record has stamped him as consistent only in his inconsistency, they will not be reassured until and unless Dr. Malan has made it clear beyond all reasonable doubt that he can and will stand by his present protestations.

Misgivings

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If this is so, then he should come out into the open and state, clearly and unequivocally, that he does not propose to be an instrument to further the machinations of Broederbond policy. But this would also involve a clean break with his past and a repudiation of Nationalist policies and objectives stated over the past 15 years.

Let me take the question of a republic as a test. The vast majority of South Africans do not wish to exchange the freedom at present enjoyed under our sovereign independent status as a free member of the British Commonwealth for the dangers and hazards of a republic.

That, apparently, was also Dr. Malan's view at one time. In 1927, for instance, a year after the Imperial Conference of 1926, one finds him saying, in language one could not attempt to better:

"This great and noble deed of Britain (the Balfour Declaration) has eliminated all the grievances I ever had, and here I find the old warriors of the Transvaal and the Free State with me."

In the same year he said: "No one would willingly sever the British connection, and there is no thought of a republic."

Those statements, of course, were made before Dr. Malan had broken with General Hertzog and before the emergence of the "purified" Nationalist Party.

But even after the break republicanism, or the objective of a republic, was openly eschewed by the Nationalist Party. It was Dr. Karl Bremer, who, as chairman of the Somerset West Congress of the Cape Nationalists about 1934, declared with emphasis:

"I deny strongly that the Nationalist Party is a republican party. . . . In the whole of South Africa there is a strong feeling for republicanism but it is not a sentiment of the Nationalist Party as such."

Republican Campaign

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The plan was published in portions and ran to something like 8,000 words. The main provisions were:

Article 1: The total abolition of British kingship over British subjects within the republic.

Article 2: The national flag to be the Vierkleur of the old South African Republic.

Language: Afrikaans to be the first official language, English to be regarded as a second or supplementary language whenever such treatment was considered in the interest of the inhabitants.

Article 3: Citizen rights. Such recognition would only be accorded to subjects of whom it could be expected that they would act as builders-up of the nation.

The totalitarian nature of the proposed republic was indicated in a section of Article 3:

"The State makes a call upon the consecrated national service of every citizen, in any capacity whatsoever, and has the power to make sure that the individual citizens, as well as the organs of public opinion, such as the existence of parties, the radio, the Press, the cinema, shall not be allowed by their activities to undermine the public order or good morals of the republic, internally or externally."

I do not find much in these provisions to support Dr. Malan's present-day protestations about the freedom of the individual. To me they have a decided flavour of the Diederichs doctrine of the supremacy of the State.

"The enhancement of the individual means the enslavement of the State." Is that what really lurks behind the mask of political respectability assumed by the present Government? Some day we may discover the answer—when it is too late to do anything about it. If so, we shall have only ourselves to blame.

201/2/4/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

15

London Daily Telegraph

19/8/48

201/2/4/1

DRIFTING APART

201/2/4/1

DESPITE the cautious tones of the statement on immigration made yesterday by Dr. DONGES, the South African Minister of the Interior, it is clear that Dr. MALAN'S Government intends to modify the previous policy in two respects. First, there is going to be a stricter supervision of would-be immigrants on ideological grounds and not merely on economic grounds; South Africa's future citizens are to be selected from those who "would fit into the national pattern and way of life." Secondly, the special facilities for migration from the United Kingdom provided by General SMUTS'S Government are to be stopped from the end of this year. It seems difficult to dissociate the first proviso from the known anti-Semitic leanings of certain members of the Malan Cabinet, though of course it is not Jews alone who are unlikely to pass through the new mesh. It is equally difficult not to surmise that the withdrawal of the scheme for Government-sponsored transport for migrants from this country bears a close relationship to the formation of a Union Government which contains not a single member of British stock.

When he made his first broadcast as Prime Minister early in June, Dr. MALAN acknowledged the "particularly friendly relationship" in which his country stood with the United Kingdom and other lands of the British Commonwealth, but he went on to warn the Commonwealth countries against "attempts at outside interference" in South Africa's domestic affairs. Any country's immigration policy is clearly one of its domestic affairs, and there can be no question of British interference with the Union Government's decisions, even if that were possible.

At the same time, it is permissible to deplore the discouragement thus given to a strengthening of ties between Britain and South Africa and to regret what looks like a general policy of excluding from the Union any intended citizens whose views or whose religious beliefs do not altogether coincide with those of the administration now in power. For Dr. MALAN'S Government came into office with a majority of only four in the House of Assembly and has a majority of only one in the revised Senate. On electoral votes all over the country it was in a considerable minority. It was thus somewhat disingenuous of Dr. DONGES to claim yesterday that the Government's new immigration policy had taken cognisance of public opinion, "which had been clearly and unequivocally expressed in the result of the General Election."

It is for South Africans, however, and not for us to comment on this claim to a mandate on the matter. What we as outsiders can reasonably do is to question whether a country with a white population of under 2½m, which was already picking its immigrants fairly closely, is wise in erecting fresh obstacles and especially in trying to reduce the flow of settlers from Britain. Careful as Dr. MALAN has been to refrain from denouncing Commonwealth bonds, his Cabinet's decision to end the exchange of military instructors with this country was an unmistakable move to weaken our collaboration for defence. The amnesty given to men guilty of open collaboration with Germany during the war—including the notorious ROBEY LEIBBRANDT, who was brought to South Africa by a U-boat—was one of the first acts of the new Government. It has been followed by the revival, with the blessing of Mr. HAVENGA, the Finance Minister, of the pro-Nazi Ossewabrandwag. We need not doubt Dr. MALAN'S intention to put into cold storage for the present any constitutional proposals for taking South Africa boldly out of the Commonwealth. But it seems evident enough that he is doing little to stop South Africa from drifting away from us, and is indeed doing much to loosen both the practical and the sentimental ties.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH A

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE CAPE ARGUS

Published at: CAPE TOWN

Date: AUGUST 12, 1948.

NATIONALIST EDITOR JOINS U.P.

Broederbond Control Denounced

M.P.S TAKE OVER HIS OFFICE

Mr. Etienne Malan

MR. ETIENNE G. MALAN, one of the cleverest political propagandists in the country, has resigned from the editorship of the "Kruithoring," the Cape Nationalist Party's "battle organ," and joined the United Party. During the election Mr. Malan also helped to edit "National News," a publication which aimed at catching the votes of English-speaking people.

He has now joined the editorial staff of the "Suiderstem," the United Party's Afrikaans daily in the Cape.

In a statement to a representative of The Argus to-day, Mr. Malan said he believed in political and economic democracy, something in which the Nationalist Party did not believe.

Political democracy did not mean continual racialism and the establishment of a group of chosen people who alone were allowed to know the truth. It did not mean the control of a political party by secret organisations.

"I do not hesitate to quote the name of the Broederbond," he declared.

BROEDERBOND CONTROL

Many of the members merely followed the leaders but others, who represented the dangerous majority of the Broederbond, had as their aim the establishment of Afrikaner control in South Africa.

"I am personally an Afrikaner," he said, "and proud of it, but South Africanism counts more with me than any other Afrikanerism. To declare that the Afrikaner must control the other European sections of the community is in my opinion politically horrid and immoral."

Mr. Malan said he had once regarded the Broederbond as a harmless organisation, but he wanted to warn all his friends that with the passage of time he had come to learn the truth.

SECRET CIRCULAR

He challenged the Broederbond to prove that their former chairman, Professor J. C. van Rooy, did not send a secret circular to all members in which he said: "Let us keep in mind that the main struggle is to get ultimate control of Afrikanerdom in South Africa. Brothers, our solution for South Africa's problems is that the Afrikanerbroederbond must rule South Africa."

More than half the Nationalist members in the Assembly belonged to the Broederbond, Mr. Malan continued. By oath they had subscribed to the policy of Afrikaner domination. For the past year the keymen in the organisation had ensured that the "right" people were nominated in certain constituencies.

The back-benches of the Nationalist Party were full of "broeders."

"Dr. Diedericks, Prof. A. I. Malan, Mr. Wennie du Plessis and others, under the leadership of Dr. T. E. Dönges, are waiting their turn to demonstrate their attitude in every manner. With a show of sweet reasonableness they will slowly deprive our country of its freedom."

OUTSIDE THE BOND

Fortunately there were Nationalist M.P.s who realised the danger. They were not members of the Broederbond.

"Are they going to take a courageous stand and try to rectify these matters, or are they going to submit to 'broeders' being appointed to key positions in the Cabinet, the Senate and important bodies?"

The Nationalist Party's social and economic plan proved that it did not believe in economic democracy.

In a haze of "plans for this and that" he foresaw the growth of a co-operative syndicalism which would land the country in an economic morass. In his view, the danger of economic slavery was as great as that of political slavery.

Only if all South Africans raised their voices in protest would freedom be saved.

"In this spirit, without hatred for anybody, but only with love for our country with all its problems have I handed in my resignation as a member of the Nationalist Party and joined the United Party."

OFFICE TAKEN OVER

Mr. Malan said his resignation from the Nationalist Party did not stand in direct relationship to his resignation as editor of the "Kruithoring." He had taken the latter step because of differences with the directorate.

Mr. Malan described how his office was taken over yesterday by representatives of the Nationalist Party.

"It was as ludicrous as a scene in a film," he said.

"I had handed in my resignation to Mr. J. H. Conradie, M.P. for Gordonia and a director of the 'Kruithoring,' at noon.

"During the afternoon I was busy correcting page proofs of the 'Kruithoring prior to the paper going to press. As a journalist, I considered it my duty to continue my work as long as possible.

TWO M.P.s ARRIVE

"At half past two I heard the sound of measured footsteps—I think the owners were subconsciously actually marching along. With a resounding left-right, two men entered—'kragdadigheid' written all over their faces.

"With the burly M.P for Gordonia was frail Mr. P. W. Botha, M.P. for George.

"With unsmiling rectitude they stood in front of my desk, and Mr. Conradie informed me that my services were to be dispensed with as from that moment. He handed me a cheque. I looked at the amount. It was correct.

EMBARRASSED

"Highly amused, I inquired whether that meant that I had to leave immediately. It did.

"Would they give me time to collect my personal papers? They would.

"Would they consider getting to blazes out of my office while I did so? They would not.

"So the collection of old accounts, personal letters and photos began. I tried to keep the party going by some friendly chatting—but my efforts at being a correct 'mine host' met with no response. I could, however, see that the 'kragdadigheid' was dissolving into an acute embarrassment. This, after all, was not the way victims usually reacted.

THEY WERE NOT AMUSED

"In going through the papers, I picked up a letter. 'Dear me,' I said, 'here is one from a reader wanting to know how he could join the Broederbond. I wonder to whom I can refer him?' The visitors were not amused.

"The packing finished, I took a last look at the office where I had worked for five years. I handed over the keys—looked at the embarrassed and slightly ridiculous couple in charge, and left."

Mr. Malan added: "If only these Nationalists would grow up and develop a sense of humour, this would be a much better country. Or maybe I cannot blame them too much on this occasion. They were feeling bad—and I, I was feeling finer than I have ever felt before in my life."

RHODES SCHOLAR

Mr. Malan, who is the son of Professor G. H. Malan, Professor of Philosophy at the University College of the Orange Free State, was educated at the Jan van Riebeeck High School in Cape Town, and took his B.A. law degree with honours at the University of Cape Town in 1937.

He was chosen as Rhodes Scholar for the Cape and went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he studied politics, philosophy and economics.

On his return in 1940 he became secretary of the Reddingsdaadbond in the Cape until 1942, when he was made a Nationalist Party organiser. He then became editor of the "Kruithoring" and was admitted to the inner circles of the Nationalist Party.

PA

201/2/4/1

Mr Deschamps

This may be a significant straw in the wind. In any case the two articles are extremely well written

Joe 1/9

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

(7) 13

From: Cape Times

Published at: CAPE TOWN 201/2/1 Pt 1

Date: AUGUST 13, 1946.

THE forecast that the Nationalist Government would seek to remove the Coloured voter from the roll, abolish the Native representation in Parliament, and fight the Provincial Council elections on the cry "Save South Africa" is made in this article analysing the attitude of the Nationalist Party in power. The writer was until recently editor of Die Kruithoring, the chief propagandist medium of the Nationalist Party. He reveals that negotiations between the Nationalists and the Afrikaner Party nearly broke down, and were saved only by the surrender of another seat.

Government's Policy on Coloured Vote and Natives

Etienne G. Malan

By Etienne G. Malan

I COULD call this article "Unite Under Freedom's Banner", but I shall not do so. Firstly, it reminds me too much of a revivalist or a Nationalist (same thing) meeting. Secondly, it is not the custom, thank goodness, of the United Party to shout its slogans from the hill-tops. Thirdly, I don't like banners, anyway. I've had them.

We who are guided by common sense are not inclined to be led by our noses along the *ware* pad of joyous inconsistencies as laid down by the peripatetic demagogues of the Nationalist Party. Rather do we believe in the unspectacular strength of unity amidst a diversity of opinions—opinions based on the individuality of the minds of free men, united on great principles which apply to all. That is true democracy.

After this near-lapse into demagoguery, I would like to say something about the present political situation which may also serve as a personal explanation of a frame of mind that has been growing on me for a very long time.

I do not think we ought to be inconsolably distressed that the United Party has lost the election. The end of the world has not come. In every democratic country a change of government is inevitable. If the United Party was under the impression that it was destined to rule for ever, it was mistaken. The United Party can point with pride to the fact that it ruled our country longer than any other government in any other Dominion since the first World War. It will rule again.

What does, however, concern us as sane-minded citizens of this country, is the zany substitute that has taken over the reins. The Nationalists suffer from a peculiar type of political inferiority complex. Throughout the years they have countered this feeling of inferiority by trying to convince themselves that they actually are of a race and a species apart, imbued with a mystical kind of *Afrikanerskap* guaranteed to compensate for their glaring shortcomings in the political and economic spheres. This mentality reaches its apex in that curious but dangerous organisation known as Die Broederbond. They profess that they are going to govern this country well—not because it is their bounden duty as the elected Government, but because, as they put it, "now we are going to show you that *ware* Afrikaners can also govern". Now that they govern the country almost anything might happen.

Nationalist Plans

I KNOW many of their plans for the future. No barnacle ever stuck closer to a ship's bottom than the way in which they will try to remain in office.

Their policy of *apartheid* will lead to the introduction of legislation removing the Coloured voters from the voters' roll. Those entrenchment clauses in the South Africa Act will not disturb their political conscience unduly. The Native representation in Parliament will be abolished by legislation.

I expect them to introduce a bill on these lines early in the next session. Armed with this bill, they will go to the electorate during the elections for the Provincial Councils with the old battle-cry, "Save South Africa". Again you have that inferiority complex—always living in mental terror, always wanting to be saved from something. In their campaign they will be supported by the Kerk, by the Reddingsdaadbond and by the whole Nationalist Press—from the staid and dusty old Burger to the highly excitable little Kruithoring. (Did I hear a Nat. passing an unkind remark?)

There are, however, hopeful signs—faint but real. The Afrikaner Party, led by Mr. Havenga, might refuse to follow the unconstitutional path outlined above. After all, Mr. Havenga still believes in the main tenets of democracy, and was not the Native Representation Act of 1936 the work of his late leader, General Hertzog? A split is improbable—but not impossible.

The Malan-Havenga agreement was not, as the Nationalists told the world, a soulful union of kindred spirits, consecrated, with the perfume of incense and roses, by the tears of all the faithful. It was an agreement hammered out in smoke-filled rooms in Cape Town and Johannesburg by hard-headed politicians.

I know of at least one occasion on which the noble high-contracting parties threw away their cigars and decided, in mutual disgust, to call the whole thing off. The situation was saved at the last minute by the offer of another seat—I think the Nationalists of Uitenhage were sacrificed to the Goddess of Expediency—to the Afrikaner Party.

Three other factors may limit the period of office of the present Government. One is an economic depression, in which the policy of the Government is sure to follow the lines laid down by some obscurantist professor at some obscure institute of learning, whose chief qualifications will be discovered to be membership of the Broederbond, *koersvastheid*, and a Ph.D. degree of a German university. These Nats. have an uncanny knack for doing the wrong thing in a crisis, bless their hearts!

Another factor is, of course, an international upheaval. I am a bit dubious whether the anti-communism of the Nationalists will go down with all their stolid citizens down where the grass roots grow and the rivulets start. Once the fighting starts, that is.

True, they hate communism—but few know what it means. I have met several Transvaal stalwarts, too, who are already talking about giving England "the works" once the Russians start meaning business.

United Party's Mistake

THE third factor is much more difficult to define. It is that spirit which resides in the minds of free men throughout the world. It is that spirit of democracy which cannot and will not tolerate the slow strangling of individuality and personal initiative. One of the reasons why the United Party lost the election—thank goodness I now belong to a party which encourages and even enjoys criticism—is that it did not take sufficient account of this intangible factor.

I grant you that the United Party fervently believes in the principles of democracy, but I do think that it was too slow in removing those restrictions which were necessary in war-time but which were hampering the development of a post-war free economy. For the Nationalist Party, of course, "free economy" is a strange and meaningless phrase, quite suited to keeping the starry-eyed of town and city occupied until they have finished the framework of their gargantuan Sentrale Ekonomiese Raad.

If none of these factors I mention above bear fruit in the near future, we must not expect an early election. The Nationalists are still a bit hazy after what they themselves regarded as the election miracle of the age, and the fruits of office taste sweet. Having got what they wanted, they are going to try and keep it as long as possible.

What are we to do? Give them a "sporting chance"? If by that is implied that the United Party is to sit back and approvingly watch the happy gambolling of the exuberant lads in Parliament and the Union Building, my reply is "no"—even though the old Walrus of Keerom-street "cries and cries into its cup of tea".

If, however, giving them a sporting chance means that the United Party is to attack them at all vulnerable points according to the sporting rules of fair play, the Constitution and democracy—all the while maintaining its just sense of proportion, its level-headedness and its sense of humour—my reply is: "Give them their chance, by all means, as long as they stick to Hoyle and the Marquess of Queensberry—but only as long as they do so." We are watching them closely. While there is no palliative for a black conscience, I owe

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I am not either going to conclude this article by the verbal exhibitionism of a "call to arms" or a "plan of battle"—it would be presumptious on my part, in any case, to do so. I would like to say, however, "Let us see clearly in our minds those principles we are striving after. Only then will each of us be able to do his modest duty—for, after all, ours is a good, an extremely good, cause."

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

(6) 12

From: THE NATAL DAILY NEWS

Published at: DURBAN

Date: AUGUST 2, 1948.

ONLY FEAR OF U.P. PREVENTS ANTI-MALAN REBELLION

Northern Nationalists Back Strydom

(Daily News Correspondent)

CAPE TOWN, Monday.

POLITICAL observers think Dr. Malan is facing a future full of danger and problems. He is treading a thorny path, which may well lead to one or both of two alternatives—his own eclipse as a leader, or the relegation, once again, of the Nationalist Party to the position of the official Opposition party.

On the one hand he is facing an extremely powerful Opposition which, after its setback on May 26, will come to Parliament determined to give battle, and will be on the alert for any opportunity to put the Government out of power.

On the other hand (and equally dangerous) are the fractious elements in the two parties of which Dr. Malan is now the leader. These people, with their highly individualistic tendencies, are in a state of suspended eruption, and it is no secret that only fear of the United Party has so far prevented them from openly rebelling against the leadership of Dr. Malan.

Cape Nationalists generally appear to be satisfied with Dr. Malan and the coterie of leaders with whom he has surrounded himself. This cannot, however, be said of Nationalists from the north.

To these people, imbued with ideals of "freedom" and a Republic, Dr. Malan's recently adopted attitude of friendliness to non-Afrikaner elements is not acceptable, and it is understandable that they would rather have a leader who believe in the same things which they believe in.

STRONG MAN

Such a man is Mr. J. G. Strydom, leader of the Nationalists in the Transvaal. Although he is the leader of 32 of the 70 Nationalists in the House of Assembly, Mr. Strydom had to be content with fourth place in the Cabinet.

This could not have been pleasing to Mr. Strydom who is considered (and rightly so) as one of the strongest men in the Nationalist Party. There is the further complication that he is extremely ambitious, and it is doubtful whether a person of his capabilities will be content to take a back seat for long.

Indications of the problem Dr. Malan will have to face some time in this connection have lately come from the Transvaal, where Mr. Strydom has frequently been referred to as "our future Prime Minister."

Another problem which Dr. Malan will have to face is the prominent position the Afrikaner Party occupies in Parliament. This party, which polled only about 14,000 votes in the 1943 General Elections, now has 11 members in Parliament and holds the balance of power.

CAN DICTATE

Their leader, Mr. N. C. Havenga, is considered by many people to be superior in qualities of leadership to Dr. Malan. He is in a position where he can dictate to the Prime Minister, and while it is not suggested that he is doing so now, it is conceivable that he may want to do so in future.

Tentative approaches have been made to the Afrikaner Party to sink its identity into that of the Nationalist Party. This is unlikely to occur, firstly because Mr. Havenga would then lose his unique position in the Government, and secondly because he would, in such event, lose the backing of the Ossewa-Brandwag to which he is to a great extent indebted for his present position.

201/2/4/1 ✓

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National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

201/2/24 (3)

P.I. SUMMARY

SOUTH AFRICA 17th August, 1948

Owing to the slenderness of their majority in the two Houses of Parliament, the South African Government have been obliged to be cautious in reversing or modifying policies of the previous Government. During recent weeks, however, they have effected the following changes.

(a) Formerly, public service was banned to any who were members of the quasi-Fascist organisations, the Broederbund and the Ossewa Brandwag. This ban has now been lifted.

(b) A number of political prisoners have also been released, including some German internees who included one who had been convicted for treason and was serving a life-sentence (commuted death sentence).

(c) Among a number of significant defence appointments, the most notable was that of Major-General Poole (expected shortly to become South Africa's Chief of Staff in succession to General Van Ryneveld who is due to retire in 9 months) as head of the South African Military Mission in Berlin in succession to Brigadier Armstrong.

(d) On 23rd July, Col. Powell, Director of Military Intelligence was dismissed and a number of files removed from the Department under the supervision of C.I.D. police. The Press in general agreed in in describing the matter as "queer goings on".

(e) Up till the present, the Union Defence Force has been modelled largely on the British Army, trained in British methods and armed with British weapons. Under recent instructions, however, not only will the inter-change of instruction between the U.D.F. and the British

Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

10

Army cease, when the present contracts expire, but also the practice of attaching U.D.F. officers to the British Army units for experience and training is to be stopped.

(f) A greater emphasis is to be placed on the "platteland army" - e.g. the commandos and farmers' rifle associations. (In which connection it has been pointed out that, while a guerilla army would be of use for internal purposes, it would be of small service in a world conflict).

(g) An official communication from the Union representative to the United Nations stated that "there is no State-aided immigration into South Africa". This statement is interpreted in South Africa as indicating the formal discontinuance at an early date of State-aided immigration. This, in conjunction with the change of Government, has already resulted in a diminution in the influx of British migrants. There is no evidence yet to support the local rumour that the new Government will encourage migrants from Germany in preference to migrants from other parts of Europe.

(h) The new Government has announced its intention to repeal Chapter 11 of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which provided for the representation of Indians in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council. It is doubtful, however, whether the Government will go much further, at any rate for some considerable time, in putting into effect its "apartheid" policy, since any radical measure affecting the Natives would require a two-thirds majority of the two Houses of Parliament, which the present Government does not command. With a view no dount to countering world criticism on the question of its Native policy, the Government has appointed Mr. Charles te

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

9

Water, formerly High Commissioner in London, as Union Ambassador - Extraordinary-at-large, appointed to all Governments which the Nationalist Government feel should be enlightened as to its true aims. Mr. te Water's true aim will be to go to Paris to Assist Mr. Louw, Minister for Economic Affairs, who is to lead the South African delegation to the United Nations Assembly.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

SECRET

DUPLICATE

Rec'd 17 AUG 1948

File No.

(4) 8

Ref. 1/5071

Central House,
Pretorius Street,
PRETORIA.
31st July, 1948.

No. 26/48.

S i r,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the English version of the full text of the Nationalist Party's draft Republican Constitution, together with the Editorial comment, published in the July issue of "The British Africa Monthly". This Journal represents the extreme English and anti-Afrikaans point of view in South Africa.

2. The draft Constitution is regarded as of particular interest in that it reflects the future pattern of government which may be adopted once the Nationalist Party feel they are sufficiently entrenched to impose their views upon the people of South Africa.

3. The Republican Constitution was published in 1942 by Dr. Malan himself. It was originally drafted by a joint Committee representative of the Nationalist Party and the Ossewa Brandwag (a Nazi Organisation), and was intended to be a secret document. However, shortly after it was completed, rivalry arose between the Nationalist Party and the Ossewa Brandwag, and Dr. Malan, apparently fearing that the Ossewa Brandwag would claim credit for the draft Constitution, decided to make it public.

(1) Records

(2) L+C

201/2/1

The quotation from "Die Transvaler" newspaper which precedes the text of the Constitution, appeared in identical words in all the Nationalist papers on January 23rd, 1942, and it may therefore be assumed that the preamble was drafted

His Majesty's Minister of State
for External Affairs,
CANBERRA

(enclosure KEA+ME)

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

drafted on the authority of Dr. Malan himself.

Since the war, the Nationalists, especially when faced with the famous language Clause (Article 2) have alleged that this Constitution was the work of individuals and was not officialy adopted by the Nationalist Party.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) M. H. Marshall

OFFICIAL SECRETARY FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA - SOUTH AFRICA.

(3) 6

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT.

From: THE STAR.

Published at: JOHANNESBURG.

Date: 1ST JULY 1948

DR. WILLIAM NICOL WARNS NATIONALISTS AGAINST EXTREMISM

TOO RAPID REDRESSING OF GRIEVANCES WOULD BE DANGEROUS

A PLEA TO AFRIKANERS to exercise moderation in the present political situation is issued by Dr. W. Nicol, Moderator of the largest Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal in Die Voorligter, official organ of that Church.

"We must not expect the whole world to change," he writes, "because one of the smallest peoples on earth has placed a new Government in power by a small majority."

SCRUPULOUS FAIRNESS TO ENGLISH-SPEAKING SECTION

Afrikanerdom felt that it had suffered a setback during the last ten years. "The attack on Afrikaans schools, especially in the Transvaal, has made a deep impression. The attack on the Dutch Reformed Church, made so constantly and irrationally by Senator Conroy, has made us feel our impotence in face of an unfair ruling power. The ban on the Broederbond, which is the inspiration of many of our cultural bodies and economic organisations, remains inexplicable to us, and invited the opposition of about 1,200 men.

"Our danger now will be the wish to put these things right at once and in too much of a hurry.

"Let Afrikanerdom gratefully accept the relief, without trying to drain every drop of advantage from the victory. If they go to the other extreme, they must expect a swift reaction.

A DUTY

"It is now the duty of those in authority to protect jealously the rights of the English-speaking. The official who has become sufficiently bilingual to carry out his work efficiently must not feel that his post, or even his promotion, is in the slightest danger. There is no reason why the Afrikaans character of our schools should not be preserved while we take the learning of English much more seriously. The next couple of years demand fairness and right-dealing from Afrikanerdom towards the English part of the population and their culture."

It was the presentation given in the platteland, especially, of the previous Government's non-European policy that made the population alter their allegiance. The people felt that there was a danger of the Europeans being swallowed up by the growing mass of Natives and now wanted an effort made in another direction. The Dutch Reformed Church was keen on racial apartheid, but had, as yet, no detailed scheme to present to those in authority. Segregation had been adopted almost unanimously about 14 years ago, yet the situation had deteriorated since and the dangers threatening them had in no small degree grown worse.

THE DANGER

"There is a danger now that we may demand a quick solution not based on right and justice. In the long run this would yield us bitter fruits.

"Provided it is at all possible, we must find a solution with which the non-Europeans agree, a solution that receives the support of the great majority of voters so that it will not lightly be revised.

"It looks as though the new Government, in view of the manifesto they issued before the election, will be obliged within a reasonable time to take active steps in the execution of apartheid. The problem, however, demands a completely thought-out programme before it is tackled. It would, therefore, be best for the Government to accept the principle only and to appoint a commission of experts to study its implementation.

GREAT SACRIFICES

"The commission must not be expected to weigh the comparative merits of fraternisation and segregation. They will only define the practical steps which must be taken during the next ten years to apply the principle (of apartheid). And we must realise in advance that it will cost us Europeans great sacrifices to pay for the measures that will have to be applied to secure a home for white posterity in South Africa."

The previous Government had been reproached with being more concerned with the Union's overseas connection than with its internal development. Whether this was a reasonable charge was irrelevant; he merely wished to express the fear that they (the Nationalists) might now want to go to the other extreme. Their disappointment with U.N. must not lead them to seek isolation. Their witness as a Christian people must be heard in the highest assembly of nations. They must take advantage, too, of UNESCO.

In every way, therefore, they should be on their guard against dangerous extremes. The middle path was safest.

201/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA

IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

5

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From THE FRIEND.

Published at BLOEMFONTEIN.

Date 21ST JULY 1948

'Unfair Campaign Against the Nationalists'

... *Dr Malan*

Ambassador to Enlighten Overseas Countries

JOHANNESBURG, Tuesday.—Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by the Transvaal Nationalist Party in the City Hall tonight the Prime Minister, Dr D. F. Malan, severely criticised General Smuts for "the vindictive, unfair campaign against the Nationalists," using, he said, "his soap box" for this purpose.

Dr Malan said this campaign was intended to discredit the Government overseas "not only in hostile countries, but even in friendly countries." This campaign, he added, was so serious that the Government had decided to take special measures and Mr Charles te Water would be sent overseas as a special representative to all countries which the Government wanted enlightened about its actual purpose and policy.

Mr Te Water would have the status of an Ambassador Extraordinary, higher than any other representative overseas.

Dr and Mrs Malan were welcomed by the chairman of the Witwatersrand Nationalist Party, Mr B. J. Schoeman (Minister of Labour).

Four years ago, said Mr Schoeman, at the time of the Union Congress, Dr Malan had received a scandalous reception in Johannesburg. Today Dr Malan was back as Prime Minister. "In those scandalous circumstances Dr Malan maintained his dignity and showed his qualities of leadership.

"Not only then, but in all the years since, he has guided the party and the people and brought them to victory.

"In what contrast is the man who has also been the leader of a party for many years, a Prime Minister, a man who has just been decisively rejected by the people, General Smuts, world statesman, philosopher and a great leader.

"SOAP-BOX SPEAKER"

"Now in the hour of his defeat, does he conduct himself with dignity, as a great leader? No. He has descended to the level of a Communist soap-box speaker and is using the language of the slums to attack his opponents. We can say—Whither General Smuts."

Mr Schoeman said this was an occasion to pay tribute to Dr Malan. His task was difficult but he could count on the loyalty of his people and that would lend him strength.

The Prime Minister, Dr Malan, said if there was one thing the Government desired it was to be of the people and not above them. He congratulated the Nationalists of the Rand for the decisive role they had played in the election.

The day would come when Johannesburg would give the Nationalist Party at least 20 seats. At the last election Nationalist Afrikanerdom had reached the highest point for many years.

He was not thinking only of party members. He thought also of those Afrikaners of other parties who had swallowed their pride. He thought also of the thousands of English people who had found common ground with the Nationalists.

In the joy of the people at the result he read a message—that there should never be another step backward. Afrikaans unity had been achieved and it should not be broken down again.

The message of the people was that no person who sought to break down their unity would be tolerated. The Government was only six weeks old, but it had been the subject of attacks that were unparalleled in their anger.

The Government had been described as traitors, liars, twisters. They have been accused of foul play, of using poison gas. It had been said that the Opposition should give the Government no chance.

UNHEARD OF

That was unheard of. The Opposition's task was not only to destroy. It should have a sense of responsibility. It should be prepared to support a Government on those points that were in the interests of the people.

The Opposition had tried to oppose the Government not only on policies, but even where it dared to transfer a public servant from one post to another. Previous governments could do it. When this Government did, it was accused of ill intentions. That in spite of the fact that the previous Government had never appointed a Nationalist. This Government was not allowed to appoint a Nationalist unchallenged.

Even a worn carpet could not be taken up today even if the order had been given by General Smuts. "The people have called us to rule the country and we shall rule it. They did so because they knew and approved on policy and we shall carry it out."

The Government had been described as fleas and bugs and things that crawl in the night. In England a politician had described the Conservatives vermin. He had been condemned by his own party. This Nationalist Government, unlike its predecessor, did not listen to the voice of Britain. But in this matter the Opposition could heed the voice of Britain.

General Smuts while he was in power had always borne himself with dignity. He had avoided mentioning General Smuts's name, because he wanted to draw a veil over the vindictive, unfair campaign against the Nationalists.

DISTASTE

General Smuts has done his own party an injury with this campaign. Distaste had been shown in the English Press and Party members had broken away as a result.

In 1924, after his defeat by the Nationalist Party, and when he had lost his own seat, General Smuts had used the language he was using now on his soap-box. Then, he had spoken of a temporary defeat. He did not return to power for 15 years. What happened then could happen again.

General Smuts spoke of laying down a clear colour policy. He should, like the Nationalists, have laid it down before the election.

The Opposition was looking for a reason for its support. The reason had been discovered by the people—the last Government had been blind and powerless.

MR. HOFMEYR

He awaited the Opposition's colour policy with amusement. Mr. Hofmeyr had been strengthened in the Party. The Platteland members of the Party, who had opposed him, had been virtually eliminated in the general election.

In addition, Mr Hofmeyr's policies had had the full support of General Smuts. There was a very serious side to these attacks. What would be the effect on South Africa's interests and overseas?

The Government had been represented as Nazis, although the Nationalist Party during the war, when Gemany was winning, rejected National Socialism at a Union congress in 1941 in favour of a people's government.

They were represented as oppressors of the non-Europeans, as racialists, as a Government which wanted to strip the English-speaking people of their rights. So they were being discredited overseas not only in hostile countries, but even in friendly countries.

SPECIAL MEASURES

That was a campaign against South Africa itself. It was so serious that the Government had decided to take special measures. It had decided to send a special representative overseas with acces to all countries which the Government wanted to enlighten about its actual purposes and policy.

He would have the status of an Ambassador Extraordinary, higher than any other representative overseas. He would be accredited to all Governments which this Government thought necessary.

At the General Assembly of the United Nations South Africa would be represented by a Cabinet Minister, Mr E. H. Louw. The Ambassador Extraordinary would be Mr Charles te Water.

Mr Te Water had had a distinguished career overseas and had all the qualifications necessary to help remove the prejudice born out of ignorance against South Africa.

IF WAR CAME

If war came South Africa would side with the anti-Communist countries. But only if its own security was assured would it be possible to see what could be done to help overseas.

It was necessary therefore to awaken interest in the defence of the country among both sections and in town and country. But the Opposition cast suspicion on the Government's plans in that direction. They tried to create the impression that the arming of the platteland was directed against a party or against the town. That was a crime against South Africa.

The reception was also attended by Dr T. E. Dongas, Miniter of the Interior; M E. H. Louw, Minister of Mines and Economic Affairs, and Mr F. S. Erasmus, Minister of Defence.—SAPA.

201/2/1

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

DUPLICATE (2) 4

SECRET

TELEGRAPHIC: "AUSTCOM PRETORIA"

REFERENCE NO. 2/4767

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
Recd 29 JUN 1948
File No.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CENTRAL HOUSE
PRETORIUS STREET
PRETORIA

No. 18/48

16th June, 1948.

S i r,

I have the honour to refer to one of the first official acts of the new Nationalist Government of the Union of South Africa, which has been to order the immediate and unconditional release of five men who had been imprisoned for offences against their country during the last World War.

2. The following is the full text of the statement issued last Friday, June 11th, by the Minister of Justice, the Hon. C.R. Swart, concerning the release of the prisoners:

> "The Government has decided, after careful consideration, to release immediately the following political prisoners who were sentenced to imprisonment by Special Courts during and after the war:
>
> Sidney Robey LEIBBRANDT;
> JULIAN David VISSER:
> Hendrik Stephanus Van BLERK:
> Jan Adriaan STRAUSS, and
> Michael Johannes PIENAAR.
>
> The case of the remaining one, Erich Sydney Holm, will be considered later.
>
> Liebbrandt has already completed five years and three months and Visser and Van Blerk five years and eleven months of their life imprisonment sentences, while Strauss and Pienaar almost completed six months of their sentences of three years' imprisonment.
>
> This decision was taken as a result

His Majesty's Minister of State
for External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. AUSTRALIA.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

result of the deep desire of the new Government to relieve the people of the Union from the strain of the war years and to endeavour to end all the unpleasantness and rancour which flowed from it.

I trust that this step of the Government will be taken up in the same spirit in which the decision was taken, and that calm will be established in the minds of the people with a view of cordial co-operation in the future between all true citizens."

3. Liebbrandt was convicted of treason in 1942 and sentenced to death. This was later commuted to life imprisonment. He was found to have landed in South-West Africa after a voyage from Germany in a U-boat, and was alleged to have communicated with the enemy by means of a wireless transmitting set.

Visser and Van Blerk, two University students, were found guilty of being concerned in the blowing up of the Benoni Post Office in 1942, when a European passer-by was killed. They were sentenced to death, but this was commuted to life imprisonment.

Strauss and Pienaar were convicted of treason in June last year, and were each sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. They broadcast German propaganda from Berlin during the War.

4. As indicated in paragraph 8 of my Despatch No. 14/48, the Government's action was not entirely unexpected. The Government's extremely precipitous (very steep indeed!) decision in this matter has, however, come as a great shock to the people of all shades of political opinion in the Union, and has aroused consternation and anger among the opposition. It has also evoked vigorous comment from leaders of the previous Government. The most striking commentary has been that made by the Hon. H.G. Lawrence, former Minister of Justice. He said:

The indecent

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

"The indecent haste with which the new Minister of Justice has acted in releasing prisoners guilty of high treason and other specially serious crimes is surprising only because of that haste. These releases are bound to cause bitter disillusionment among those South Africans who voted to give the Nationalists a chance.

The failure to understand the susceptibilities of these persons - many, no doubt, English-speaking - has unquestionably led Mr. Swart into this major phychological political blunder. Otherwise one would have expected the new Government, with its precarious Parliamentary amjority, to have held its hand, at any rate until the first flush of victory had worn off. It is the precipitate action, therefore, which is surprising. But that this action would be adopted by the Nationalist Government is surely no surprise.

The friends of Hitler are running true to type. They stuck together during the war. It is only to be expected that they will continue to stand together now.

This is merely the first phase of what the country will have to swallow when the new regime really gets into its stride."

5. The only attempt, so far, to defend the Government's action has come from the Hon. B.J. Schoeman, Minister of Labour, who said:

"In view of the fact that Liebbrandt did not do anything actually wrong, while he was in the Union - although his intentions might have been to do wrong - I think that his release is justified."

The general impression prevailing among the people is that these "political" prisoners have been released not because they have served so many years' imprisonment, but because they were on the side of the Nationalists during the War.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) M. H. Marshall
OFFICIAL SECRETARY FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

National Archives of Australia NAA: A1838, 201/2/2/1 PART 1

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR AUSTRALIA
IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NEWSPAPER EXCERPT

From THE NATAL DAILY NEWS

Published at DURBAN

Date JUNE 10, 1948.

Nationalist Set-Up And Its Background

Bitter Enmity With Ossewa-Brandwag

By Christopher Kavanagh

THE idea of a Nationalist-Afrikaner Government has now become familiar, but confusion over the origins of the Nationalist and Afrikaner Parties persists in parts of the Union where Afrikaans is hardly ever heard.

In coastal Natal most English-speaking people have only the vaguest notion of the parties' histories or their connection with other nationally-minded movements. The Nationalist Party is even confused with its most bitter enemy, the Ossewa-Brandwag, and this confusion is understandable.

To trace the origins of the present governing parties it is necessary to go back to September 1939.

General Hertzog, as head of the United Party, was Prime Minister, Mr. Havenga was Minister of Finance and Dr Malan was leader of the Purified Nationalist Party—the official Opposition. Hertzog, passionately sincere, but misguided man, sympathised with National-Socialist Germany, and in the famous Assembly debate urged that the Union should remain neutral in the war that had just broken out.

On the division the United Party split, General Hertzog and his life-long crony, Havenga, and their followers crossed the floor and voted with the Nationalists. They were defeated by the historic 13 votes; the country went to war and Smuts, as new leader of the United Party became Prime Minister.

Still boss

TRIUMPHANTLY the Nationalist Party was renamed the "Re-united Nationalist Party" (Herenigde Nasionale Party), the name it still bears to-day. The Hertzogites had been Nationalists before the fusion of the South African Party (Smuts) and portion of the old Nationalist Party in 1933. Now the prodigals had returned.

However, the Hertzogites were not at ease. It was true that their leader was now leader of the Opposition, but the uncompromising racialism of the Nationalist Party was distasteful to those who for six years had worked happily with English-speaking colleagues in the United Party. Furthermore it soon appeared that although Dr. Malan had taken second place in the Nationalist Party as a gesture of good will, he was still the boss, and Hertzog was spurned and edged into retirement. He died not long afterwards.

No one was surprised therefore when on January 30, 1941, the Hertzogite leaders, 10 M.P.s and three Senators, left the Herenigde Nasionale Party and founded the Afrikaner Party.

In their manifesto they made it clear that they were still opposed to South Africa's participation in the war, but said:

"The United Party cannot restore national unity because it is founded on a false foundation of British Imperialism and Imperialism. After the war it is doomed to national sterility. The Herenigde Party too, rests on a false foundation—that of segregation of the Afrikaans-speaking community, if not theoretically, then certainly in practice. In the Afrikaner Party the thousands and thousands of English- and Afrikaans-speaking workers who do not wish to be in the weak Labour Party, or in General Smuts's Imperialist Party, or in the extreme newspapers in the country put together. Shrewd Mr. Havenga knew he had a powerful mouthpiece, and a small team of experienced and loyal Parliamentarians behind him, and he waited his chance.

It came towards the end of last year when the Nationalists, summing up their prospects in the 1948 General Election, realised that without the help of the Afrikaner Party and the Vaderland they would have little hope of increasing the number of seats they held. The idea of winning the election never entered their heads.

Mr Havenga was able to drive a hard bargain. In return for Afrikaner Party support the Nationalists had to agree not to oppose but to support and work for Afrikaner Party candidates in 10 plum constituencies. The tide flowed strongly and nine were returned to Parliament, giving the Afrikaner Party the balance of power in what cannot be otherwise than an uneasy alliance. The Afrikaner Party have never forgiven the Nationalists for their scornful treatment of Hertzog.

Militant

WHERE does the Ossewa-Brandwag fit in, and what part does the secret society, the Broederbond, play in the governing parties?

organisation it managed to keep on the right side of the law, several members were interned for subversive activities.

Now, no Afrikaans-speaking South African, O.-B. or not, is happy unless he has what Mr. Havenga has called "a political home." To ask him to stay away from the polls is like forbidding an Irishman to bet or take sides in quarrels.

The O.-B desired a one-party State, but their members still wanted someone to vote for in the meantime.

When Dr. Malan was approached he turned them down flatly, and added that no O.-B. would be admitted to the Nationalist Party unless he first renounced National-Socialism by resigning from the O.-B. Infuriated, the O.-B. turned to the Afrikaner Party, who needing support, agreed to have them if they wanted to join.

The Nationalist-Afrikaner Party election agreement put the O.-B. in a quandary since to vote for the Afrikaner Party was tantamount to voting for their arch-enemies the Malanites, and there were threats of boycotting the polls.

But as most O.-B.s had swallowed the Nationalist black-bogey propaganda they could not keep away and must have voted for the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party alliance—a total throughout the country of perhaps 10,000 votes. With the war over the O.-B. is declining in strength and many branches have reported to have gone out of existence. The members, by coincidence or design, have captured many key positions in teaching, business and politics. Membership of the Broederbond was banned for civil servants during the war, and among those who resigned from the Service rather than from the Broederbond was Mr. Wentzel du Plessis, the Nationalist who defeated General Smuts at Standerton.

Another prominent broeder in the present Government is the Minister of the Interior, Dr T. E. Donges, who is vice-chairman of the Bond. In a statement defending itself from General Smuts's criticisms the Broederbond in December, 1944, admitted having a total membership of 2,672, of which 8.4 per cent were civil servants at the time.

Conditions for joining the Broederbond are strict. Broeders must be of Afrikaner descent, must be Afrikaans-speaking, and Protestants. Their devotion to the cause of Afrikanerdom must be unquestioned, and so must their moral and religious life.

But once in the Broederbond no young Afrikaner need worry about his future. He will receive preference in party nominations or in appointments to key jobs. Subscription to the Broederbond is only £12 12s a year.

Writing in The Daily News on October 28, 1944, my colleague David Brechin said prophetically of the Broederbond: "Now that change [illegible] of the United Nations by the Axis has caused

National Archives of Australia

And Its Background

Bitter Enmity With Ossewa–Brandwag

By Christopher Kavanagh

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However, the Hertzogites were not at ease. It was true that their leader was now leader of the Opposition, but the uncompromising racialism of the Nationalist Party was distasteful to those who for six years had worked happily with English-speaking colleagues in the United Party. Furthermore, it soon appeared that although Dr. Malan had taken second place in the Nationalist Party as a gesture of good will, he was still the boss, and Hertzog was spurned and edged into retirement. He died not long afterwards.

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Mouthpiece

THESE worthy aims cut no ice in the General Election in 1943, when every Afrikaner Party candidate was defeated.

In the five years that followed the Afrikaner Party was kept alive mainly by its organ, Die Vaderland, a lively and well-produced Johannesburg tabloid daily newspaper, whose circulation exceeds that of all Nationalist newspapers in the country put together. Shrewd Mr. Havenga knew he had a powerful mouthpiece, and a small team of experienced and loyal Parliamentarians behind him, and he waited his chance.

It came towards the end of last year when the Nationalists, summing up their prospects in the 1948 General Election, realised that without the help of the Afrikaner Party and the Vaderland they would have little hope of increasing the number of seats they held. The idea of winning the election never entered their heads.

Mr. Havenga was able to drive a hard bargain. In return for Afrikaner Party support the Nationalists had to agree not to oppose but to support and work for Afrikaner Party candidates in 10 plum constituencies. The tide flowed strongly and nine were returned to Parliament, giving the Afrikaner Party the balance of power in what cannot be otherwise than an uneasy alliance. The Afrikaner Party have never forgiven the Nationalists for their scornful treatment of Hertzog.

Militant

WHERE does the Ossewa-Brandwag fit in, and what part does the secret society, the Broederbond, play in the governing parties?

The O.-B. was formed in February, 1939, with the object of unifying all Afrikaners and keeping alive the spirit of enthusiasm for Voortrekker ideals displayed during the Trek centenary celebrations in 1938. However, it soon became clear that the aim of the movement was to set up a private army very similar to Hitler's S.A.

Like the Nazis, the O.-B.s said they did not believe in political parties, and they gave the quaint reason that the old Voortrekker republics had managed with only one party in the Volksraad, the implication being that every Voortrekker custom was ipso facto sensible and capable of being applied even in a complicated and industrialised state.

The O.-B. was violently opposed to the Union's part in the war, and although as an organisation it managed to keep on the right side of the law, several members were interned for subversive activities.

Now, no Afrikaans-speaking South African, O.-B. or not, is happy unless he has what Mr. Havenga has called "a political home." To ask him to stay away from the polls is like forbidding an Irishman to bet or take sides in quarrels.

The O.-B. desired a one-party State, but their members still wanted someone to vote for in the meantime.

When Dr. Malan was approached he turned them down flatly, and added that no O.-B. would be admitted to the Nationalist Party unless he first renounced National-Socialism by resigning from the O.-B. Infuriated, the O.-B. turned to the Afrikaner Party, who needing support, agreed to have them if they wanted to join.

The Nationalist-Afrikaner Party election agreement put the O.-B. in a quandary since to vote for the Afrikaner Party was tantamount to voting for their arch-enemies the Malanites, and there were threats of boycotting the polls.

But as most O.-B.s had swallowed the Nationalist black bogey propaganda they could not keep away and must have voted for the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party alliance—a total throughout the country of perhaps 10,000 votes. With the war over the O.-B. is declining in strength and many branches are reported to have gone out of existence. The Nationalist newspaper the Transvaler has already called on them to disband, and there is no doubt that the Nationalist victory will sap their strength.

Secret key

THE Broederbond is a different matter. Ostensibly a harmless secret society to further the cause of Afrikaans culture, its members, by coincidence or design, have captured many key positions in teaching, business and politics. Membership of the Broederbond was banned for civil servants during the war, and among those who resigned from the Service rather than from the Broederbond was Mr. Wentzel du Plessis, the Nationalist who defeated General Smuts at Standerton.

Another prominent broeder in the present Government is the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, who is vice-chairman of the Bond. In a statement defending itself from General Smuts's criticisms the Broederbond in December, 1944, admitted having a total membership of 2,672, of which 8.4 per cent. were civil servants at the time.

Conditions for joining the Broederbond are strict. Broeders must be of Afrikaner descent, must be Afrikaans-speaking, and Protestants. Their devotion to the cause of Afrikanerdom must be unquestioned, and so must their moral and religious life.

But once in the Broederbond no young Afrikaner need worry about his future. He will receive preference in party nominations or in appointments to key jobs. Subscription to the Broederbond is only £12 12s a year.

Writing in The Daily News on October 28, 1944, my colleague David Brechin said prophetically of the Broederbond: "Now that chance (defeat of the United Nations by the Axis) has passed they watch and wait for the chance to seize national power which a disgruntled post-war electorate may give."

The Nationalist Afrikaner Parties are not the Broederbond, but many members of the new Government are Broeders. They are sworn to promote the interests of Afrikaans-speaking people of Protestant belief above any other parts of the South African community.

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